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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING: SOME SOCIALIZATION CONSEQUENCES

by

© TINA-LYNN CHOW

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Consciousness-Raising: Some Socialization Consequences submitted by Tina-Lynn Chow in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Family Studies.

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to describe the child rearing practices of mothers of preschoolers who had attended consciousness-raising (CR) groups associated with the Women's Movement. Of particular interest were sex role norms and sex role socialization. In addition to child rearing, childhood background and the CR experience were examined.

An open-ended interview schedule was developed and personal interviews were conducted with five women. Taped interview material was transcribed into case study format.

Farber's four conditions for continuity of family culture (sentimental factor, evaluative factor, cognitive factor, power factor) were used in analyzing case material. It appeared that four of the respondents were socialized to traditional sex role norms during their childhood. However, examination of this childhood socialization found it to be not particularly effective according to Farber's criteria. Therefore, discontinuity with family norms and values might be predicted. In fact, these respondents had discarded some of their parents' norms and values including those related to sex roles.

The four women who had been raised traditionally indicated that the consciousness-raising experience was a major input to their philosophy of life. Using Farber's conditions, the CR group seemed to be quite an effective socialization agent. All respondents shared a dissatisfaction with traditional sex role stereotypes. This attitude was reinforced by the CR group. While the CR group influenced personal awareness and change in terms of sex roles, it did not encourage actions to promote a wider spread, social change.

In examining the articulation of the CR experience with family life, the relationship of non-traditional sex role attitudes and child rearing practices was of particular interest. Generally, the respondents felt that they raised their children in a manner similar to that of other parents. That is, they followed current child rearing trends and derived their knowledge from recognized sources. In the area of sex role socialization, however, the respondents felt that they were unlike other parents in that they attempted to avoid sex role stereotyping. The respondents indicated that they had to often consciously work at not sex-typing their children. The information collected provided conflicting evidence concerning the mother's effectiveness in transmitting non-traditional sex role norms and values. While the CR group reinforced a non-sexist child rearing ideology for its members, non-sexist child rearing behavior was an individual responsibility.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Historically, socially significant meanings have been attached to the concepts of male and female. (deBeauvoir, 1953) Subsequent sex role stereotypes have developed. The stereotypes are simplified, standardized conceptions of maleness and femaleness. They encompass a number of beliefs and expectations concerning trait differences, both positive and negative. For example, the traditional Western male stereotype incorporates aggressive, independent and decision-making traits whereas the female stereotype incorporates cooperative, nurturant and expressive ones. (Polk and Stein, 1972)

The source of sex role differences and stereotypes is a controversial subject. Some believe that sex role differences are innately determined, e.g. Nash (1970). Others (Kagan, 1958; Mead, 1949) consider sex role differences a result of social expectation and interaction. The dichotomy of innate and acquired is becoming outmoded. Interactional models such as the one proposed by Money and Ehrhardt (1972) recognize the influence of both biological and environmental factors.

Within the interactional model, environment inputs seem to predominate. Three areas of research have demonstrated the power of social-psychological forces in shaping behavior. First, Schacter and Singer (1962) showed that the behavior in a particular physiological state, i.e. in the presence of certain hormones, is determined by social expectations of others rather than hormonal influence. Second, cultural anthropology has provided information about the varied assignment of traits to males and females in different cultures. (e.g. Mead, 1949) Third, studies in hermaphroditism and cross sex identity (Green, 1974) indicate the importance of child rearing factors. Money and Ehrhardt's collection (1972) of this type of research stresses the role of others, particularly parents, in the formation of gender identity and sex differences. These three types of research suggest that many personality differences between men and women are not inherent but rather the product of social variables.

CHANGING SEX ROLE EXPECTATIONS

Since social definitions of sex roles are not immutable, change is possible. Currently there is some evidence that sex role stereotypes are being challenged. Some people are beginning to question the traditional use of biological sex as a basis for assignment of traits. The emerging non-traditional approach to sex roles considers traditional sex roles artificial and restrictive, and favors roles based on interests and abilities. While the non-traditional approach to sex roles is largely identified with the Women's Liberation Movement, this approach influences both men and women. (Roessler, 1971)

The vagueness of sex role expectations may be interpreted as the result of changing and variant meanings of men's and women's roles. Expectations with regard to men's and women's dress, family roles and work lives are becoming less dichotomous in urban industrial society. (Silverman and Hill, 1967; Vincent, 1966) Several studies have also noted a lack of consensus about sex role expectations (ideal vs. real role, male vs. female expectations), particularly for women. (Hartley and Klein, 1959; McKee and Sherriffs, 1959; Rodgers, 1959) It appears that sex role expectations are quite blurred. This ambiguity may reflect role confusion, or, it may represent role flexibility. (Angrist, 1969)

While sex role flexibility is evident in several countries, Scandinavian countries have been foremost in implementing social changes that are relevant to sex roles. In Sweden, legislation has touched on school training, mass media images, definition of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', and dual career families. (Dahlstrom, 1971; Holter, 1970)

In the Canadian context, several indices suggest that sex role beliefs and standards are changing. Indicators exist in the occupational sphere. If quantity of research and social comment is taken as an index of concern about a certain issue, then it would appear that much of the criticism of working mothers has subsided. It may be that society is in the process of adjusting to female participation of greater frequency and of a different nature in the economy.

It also appears that changes in traditional male occupational roles are occurring. For example, the corporation manager is now rewarded for competency in interpersonal relations rather than for instrumental leadership skills or substantive expertise. (Bennis and Slater, 1968: 97 - 123)

Phenomena in the political sphere also point towards a change in sex roles. Within the past 60 years, women have gained the right to vote and hold office. Since enfranchisement, women have participated in increasing numbers in political life. Some women have assumed responsible positions in government. For example, a woman was named Lieutenant Governor of Ontario in the spring of 1974. The election and appointment of women to higher levels in public life reflects an increasing acceptance of women in politics.

Developments in education have also reflected changing beliefs about capacities and roles of men and women. Women in Canada now have access to all levels of education. Educators are becoming more aware of and sensitive to sex role stereotyping in the classroom. The impact of a changing approach to sex roles is also apparent in educational content. For example, colleges and universities have developed courses on women from a variety of perspectives such as art, literature, sociology and psychology.

To summarize, a number of factors indicate that sex role beliefs and expectations are undergoing some changes in Canada. Change has not been restricted to one societal system but rather has touched a number of systems.

CHANGING SEX ROLES AND THE FAMILY

The recognition of the potential impact of changing sex roles has led to various assessments of the effect of such changes. Evaluation and understanding of the influence of changing sex role beliefs on the family is a relatively new area for research.

Research on the family, in this respect, has primarily focused on the marital dyad. (e.g. Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1967; Garland, 1972; Poloma, 1972) As yet research has not been conducted to any large extent , particularly in the Canadian context, on the impact of changing sex roles on parent-child relations, notably those related to socialization.

Socialization of young children has generally tended to promote sex differences. Theory stresses the potent input of parents in sex role socialization. Parents transmit sex role beliefs in a number of ways. Some efforts are systematic while others are random and non-deliberate. Direct, systematic efforts include information transfer. For example, "Girls don't...", "Boys do..." Also, conscious rewards may be made for behavior that parents deem appropriate for a boy or a girl.

Research indicates that fathers are particularly conscious of and active in preserving sex differences. Fathers tend to differentiate the sexes in terms of expectations (Aberle and Naegele,1952) and treatment (Kohn and Carroll, 1960; Rothbart and Maccoby, 1966) Evidence suggests that while a mother may share the father's beliefs about sex appropriate behavior, "she does not make a basic differentiation in her attitude toward male and female children ... She thinks of both sexes as 'children' whom she treats in the light of her general nurturant and supportive role in the family." (Johnson, 1963)

While mothers may not be actively engaged in sex-typing activities, more subtle differentiations do operate. Parents may not be aware of some methods of sex-typing because these methods are a normative standard followed as a matter of course.

> "Parents have traditionally dressed their sons and daughters in different ways, have given them different toys, have encouraged certain behaviors for a child of one sex (which have been discouraged for a child of the opposite sex), and have participated in sex-specific activities themselves." (Osofsky and Osofsky, 1972: 412)

Most research on sex roles, for example Maccoby's (1966) collection of papers on sex differences and their development, deals with the occurrence and formation of traditional sex differences. Few studies are available in the context of a non-traditional approach to sex roles. The latter kind of research tends to be of two types since non-traditional sex roles have been treated as both dependent and independent variables.

A few studies have considered changing sex role behavior as an effect while looking for the cause in childhood background. (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Hennig, 1971; Lopate, 1965; Micossi, 1970) Of the studies conducted, most have studied women engaged in non-traditional occupations such as medicine, law, engineering, executive positions and academic posts. While the studies produced are scarce, a trend has been uncovered. Parental socialization of women entering these fields is usually different from that of the majority of American women. For example, in one study twice as many women in atypical as compared to typical occupations had mothers who provided a model of a working woman who successfully combined work and family life. In some cases, these mothers were employed in atypical, male dominated professions. (Almquist and Angrist, 1970) It has also been noted that in some cases fathers have symbolically treated their daughters as sons because they were an only child, because they were similar to an only child because of large age gaps, or because all the children were girls and one was selected to "play the role of the son." Daughters may also have been treated like boys because a brother refused to enter his father's occupation and the daughter in effect became a substitute. (Hennig, 1971; Lopate, 1965; Micossi, 1970) Thus it appears that childhood socialization affects the career choice segment of sex roles.

While one type of research considers sex roles the dependent variable, the second type of research approaches changing sex roles as the independent variable that affects socialization practices. Investigations of this kind have been conducted in the Scandinavian countries. The studies focus on two aspects of socialization: the effect of changing sex roles on parents' attitudes and behavior in socialization, and the effect on children (socialization outcome).

In studying the effect of changing sex role beliefs on parents' behaviors, Brun-Gulbrandsen (1958) found that while mothers do accept a general equalitarian ideology, their answers are more traditional when specific child rearing situations are considered. For example, although 95% of the mothers thought girls and boys should be brought up as similarly as possible, 60% thought it was all right for boys to receive more hours of theoretical instruction while girls spent the remaining hours in learning to cook and sew. Dahlstrom (1971: 64) commented that these findings "do reflect a typical conflict between the prevailing ideology of equality between the sexes and an unwillingness to accept the full consequences of this ideology."

Dahlstrom also predicted that greater variance would be found between ideology and actual behavior. This is in accordance with the large amount of research on various types of attitudes and behavior which reveal little if any relationship between the two concepts. (Wicker, 1969) Dahlstrom's prediction is also supported by a longitudinal study by Eckhoff and Gauslaa (1960). They found that at birth parents of boys and girls had similar child rearing ideologies. However, when the children were six, differences were noted in the parents' descriptions of the treatment given boys and girls. These results indicate that differentiated treatment on the basis of sex begins at an early age even though parents may not be aware of the process.

The finding that current changes in sex roles have had limited influence on child rearing practices seems to be reflected in the effect of changing sex roles on children. In Sweden, although "radical" changes have been made in the last ten years and although the non-traditional approach to sex roles is widely discussed, Brun-Gulbrandsen (1958) found that children aged eight and eleven years were still clearly aware of sex roles and sex-differentiated tasks and activities. It appears that traditional beliefs about sex roles are transmitted even when the social climate supports change. This concurs with Safilios-Rothschild's (1972: 31) remark that "when even conscious and significant efforts are made for the abolition of sex role differentiations, the process is slow and it takes probably two generations before it can be achieved."

In summary, it may be said that while socialization does affect sex roles the influence for the majority tends to be traditional even when parents hold non-traditional sex role attitudes. Parents with non-traditional sex role attitudes do not seem to employ socialization practices that foster the development of similar attitudes in their children. A number of reasons may be offered to explain this discrepancy between attitudes and behavior.

First, attitudes to sex roles may not be the most important factor in determining socialization behavior. Other attitudes such as attitudes to children or child-rearing may be more influential. For example, if a mother is concerned with her child's acceptance into a peer group that is largely traditional in terms of sex roles, she may not be motivated to raise her child with non-traditional beliefs. The more positively evaluated need for acceptance may override the non-traditional attitude to sex roles. In addition to other attitudes, the expected reactions of others may also influence sex role socialization. Interaction may vary with the situation. A mother may be comfortable counteracting sex-typing by her own children but may not want to deal with sex-typing by other children.

Those mothers who have adopted a non-traditional approach to sex roles must be motivated to apply these attitudes to their child rearing behavior. They must note that their attitudes and behaviors are not automatically congruent. They must believe that innovative behavior on their part would result in realistic and desirable consequences for their child. Also, sex role socialization must be identified as a situation requiring innovative behavior since traditional behavior is unsatisfactory.

Socialization includes both conscious attempts at modifying behavior and unintentional effects. Attempts at developing or changing socialization patterns may focus on obvious issues such as differential treatment of boys and girls. Parents may be less sensitive to less direct effects such as modelling by participating in sex-specific activities. Yet the unintended consequences of behavior may be as potent as the intended in the socialization process.

Another factor that would account for attitude discrepant behavior in sex role socialization is that socializing activities of parents are learned, generally by observation and imitation or trial and error. Earlier learning, e.g. observation of traditional parents or traditional anticipatory socialization, may hinder innovation at a later date. Many socialization situations require immediate action. If these situations are not anticipated, previously learned traditional patterns may be utilized since they are available and innovative action has not been developed. Finally, for those using innovative practices there may be a scarcity of models to observe. Innovative behaviors must then be generated.

PARENT EDUCATION

The introduction and development of patterns of child rearing that are innovative to parents has been the major function of parent education. Programs have been used to stimulate change in terms of child care. The term 'parent education' refers to a variety of educational activities that help parents increase their competence as parents and develop effective methods of child care. According to Auerback (1968) the primary content of parent education is:

> "new educational experiences that will give parents added knowledge and understanding, cause them to question their habitual ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, and help them develop new methods (where new methods are indicated) of dealing with their children, with themselves, and with their social environment." (p. 3)

In parent education the adult assumes the role of the learner. But, as Stern (1960) points out, the learning process is not "an authoritarian form of instruction and passive receptivity by the pupil." (p. 17) It is a dynamic experience that recognizes the importance of feelings and attitudes as well as knowledge. Various methods are utilized as inputs to the learning process.

One technique seems to be particularly pertinent to the difficulty encountered in implementing non-sexist child rearing, i.e. translating a non-traditional approach to sex roles in child rearing behavior. It deals with the link between knowledge or intentions and actual behavior. This type of internal gap is a serious block to utilization of new material. Lippitt (1968: 363) suggests that a means of closing this gap involves "carefully planned opportunities for self-confrontation and emotional support for the receiving and utilizing of feedback about one's own behavior as a socialization agent." These experiences are particularly important when the parent is attempting to change his or her behavior.

Recently parent education has been used as a tool for implementing a non-sexist child rearing philosophy. Hirsch (1974) reported on the goals and techniques of twelve parent education groups devoted to non-sexist child rearing.

> "Non-sexist child rearing demands completely open possibilities for developing the "human" potential in both females and males. It attempts to create the equality (not sameness) of the sexes - legally, socially, educationally, psychologically, politically, religiously, economically- in and out of the home." (Hirsch, 1974: 168)

The groups meet regularly and are composed of interested parents. Group processes include discussion and "encounter" of practices, goals and attitudes of the members about child rearing. The non-traditional approach to sex roles is accepted and the parents practice "going against stereotypical patterns".

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING (CR)

Parent education occurs in many settings. Discussions of parent education usually focus on those programs formally designed to educate parents. However, as Brim (1968) points out, there are many informal ways in which adult socialization, such as socialization to the parent role, is assisted.

One such adult socialization setting that has potential as a parent change agent is the consciousness-raising (CR) group associated with the Women's Liberation Movement.[1] While these groups have not been designated as parent groups and have not identified parent education as a goal, their operation resembles in some aspects the parent groups described by Hirsch (1974).

First, the members of both groups profess a non-traditional stance regarding sex roles. Malmo-Levine (1972) concluded that "the CR group represents a group of women whose perceptions of self exceed the boundaries of the feminine stereotype." (pp. 68 - 69) She found that they adopted both feminine and masculine characteristics. It appears that the values and norms of the groups are similar with respect to sex roles.

The second similarity between the CR and parent education groups is their technique. Bird (1971) described CR groups as involving discussion of an informal and intimate nature. Opportunities for self-confrontation are available. Hirsch's groups operate along the same lines.

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[1] The only consciousness-raising groups referred to in this research are those associated with the Women's Movement.

The major difference between the two groups is their specified content. The CR groups centre on sharing experiences as women and examining their status as women. (Bird, 1971; Malmo-Levine, 1972) In the CR group, the discussion of members' own upbringings (probably traditional) and their normative stance (non-traditional) might stimulate interest in non-sexist child rearing. To the extent that CR group members are sharing experiences related to non-sexist child rearing, the CR group may perform an informal function as a parent education vehicle.

To summarize, while traditional sex roles are in a dynamic state in contemporary society, rapid change cannot be forecasted. There appears to be a lag between adoption of a non-traditional approach to sex roles and the implementation of this approach in child rearing practices. Parents may choose to socialize their children to roles based on competencies and interests (a non-traditional view) or to roles based on biological sex (a traditional view). Those parents selecting the former direction might possibly be assisted by formal and informal contacts with others in developing a non-sexist approach to child rearing.

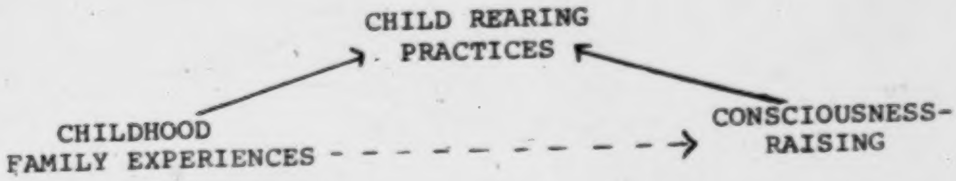
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There is some evidence that sex roles are in a dynamic state in contemporary society. The issues posed in the preceding discussion concerning socialization of both adults and children to a non-traditional approach to sex roles indicates a need for preliminary, in-depth research. Exploratory studies of a detailed nature appear appropriate.

This study proposes to examine the child rearing attitudes and behaviors of a small sample of mothers who profess a non-traditional approach to sex roles. The child rearing philosophies, expectations, practices and behavioral intentions of these women will be described. The research will also attempt to reveal the dynamic nature of the child rearing experience from the mother's parent's perspective.

One area of child rearing of particular interest in this study is sex role socialization. Do non-traditional sex role beliefs of parents affect their socialization practices or styles of relating to children? Do they feel these attitudes are relevant to their children? Do these parents attempt to employ a non-sexist approach to child rearing? What specific behaviors are employed in sex-typing situations?

Although the focus of this study is on child rearing socialization patterns and styles, two other socialization experiences that may affect child rearing will be described. These are the childhood experience and the consciousness-raising experience of the respondents. The interconnection of these situations is displayed in the following model:



The family backgrounds of the women will be examined in order to determine the models of child rearing behavior available for observational learning in early years, and the nature of the family learning environment. The attitudes to sex roles of the respondents' parents will be investigated in order to determine the approach to sex roles learned in early childhood. While the women may choose to depart from the values, norms and behaviors of their parents, earlier learning of these patterns may limit the amount of modification possible.

The second socialization experience described will be the CR group. To the extent that the CR group facilitates personal awareness, and alteration or clarification of norms and values, it may be considered a socialization agent. The effect of this type of experience has yet to be demonstrated. Personal awareness and change, if stimulated by the CR group, may have an impact on relationships outside the group including the parent-child dyad. The impact of the CR experience as an input to actual child rearing behaviors will be investigated. Also of interest is the non-traditional interpretation of sex roles supported by women in CR groups. This may have implications for a non-sexist child rearing ideology and practice.

A purposive sample will be drawn from CR groups since these groups have voiced a non-traditional stance with respect to sex roles and also since this type of socialization experience may affect the sex role standards of the participants. The sample will include married women who have at least one preschool son.

The case study approach will be utilized and qualitative data will be collected with a view to describing the phenomena in selected cases. This study does not intend to make generalizations or test hypotheses, rather, it intends to stimulate and direct further research.

CHAPTER II

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

The present study focuses on several specific instances of adult and child socialization. The following discussion describes the analytic framework that will provide the basis of the study.

SOCIALIZATION

The individual is in constant interaction with his social environment. Through this interaction he develops as a social being. This is the essence of socialization. In this research socialization will be considered a social learning process that encompasses values, feelings, motives, thoughts and behaviors. While socialization frequently refers to the social orientation of children, it is a lifelong process. For example, adults learn new roles (i.e. parenthood) and modification of behaviors in familiar roles (i.e. parent of an adolescent versus parent of a preschooler). The ongoing nature of socialization is particularly apparent in modern society. Rapid social change may render earlier childhood socialization inadequate.

The content of learning in socialization differs at different stages of the life cycle and in different situations. Brim (1966) has developed the following paradigm for analyzing the content of socialization:

	Behavior	Values
Knowledge	A	B
Ability	C	D
Motivation	E	F

The requirements of socialization outlined in this model are knowledge of behavior expected and values to be followed (Cells A and B), ability to perform behavior and hold certain values (Cells C and D), and the motivation to behave in particular ways and pursue given values (Cells E and F). A major difference between childhood and adult socialization is the stress of the latter on overt behavior rather than values and motives. It should be noted that adult socialization may address itself to ability, motivation and values as well as behavior, although this is not usually the case.

The relationship of the individual to the socialization agent changes over the life span. The child is socialized in an atmosphere of high support and high power differentiation. The adult, on the other hand, is often socialized in a situation of affective neutrality and little power differentiation. In addition, much adult socialization does not specify the role of the learner while the child has a well-defined learner's role.

Because of the reciprocal nature of interaction, the designation of one individual as learner and the other as teacher is arbitrary. In society some individuals are formally designated as socialization agents because their primary function is transmission of existing norms. These individuals include parents, teachers and preachers. Socialization however does not involve a uni-directional attempt to influence an individual. All enduring relationships involve the development of mutual expectations. For example, in the family, the parents are generally assigned the role of socialization agent. However, the birth of a child does involve some adjustments on the part of the parent. The parent must learn new behaviors and orientations. It appears then that both the parent and the child are socialized to a particular relationship as well as a social role.

THE FAMILY AS SOCIALIZATION AGENT

The family operates as socialization agent which is particularly potent during childhood. In the early years a child's more limited access to other social relationships underlines the saliency of parents as socializers. The input of family members, most particularly parents, to the development of the individual has been stressed in theory and in the direction of research.

> "Socialization of the young child within the family comprises the pursuit of many goals, ranging from the transmission of cultural norms and basic orientations to the training of the child in technical and in interpersonal skills and even to the development of mutual understanding between parent and child. Few later socialization relationships entail anything like this scope...". (Clausen, 1968b: 151)

The family may be conceptualized as a system of interrelated and interacting personalities. Dechert (1965) defined a system as "an organized collection of interrelated elements characterized by a boundary and functional unity."

Interrelated elements in a family system are personalities whose family membership defines the boundary of the system. Socialization, as a goal-oriented task, provides functional unity. Each family system has its own set of values and resources which are used to achieve goals such as family maintenance and to respond to other demands.

Information transfer within the family system and between the family and other systems influences family functioning and satisfaction. Information transfer or communication occurs between and within the family subsystems, both parent-child and husband-wife. Operation of the husband-wife subsystem will influence action in the parent-child sphere. For example, those parents who employ traditional sex role norms in marital interaction may use the same or similar standards in the sex role socialization of their children.

There is also a flow of information between the family and other systems. The family actively participates in information processing and is not a passive receptor of outside influence. That is, family boundaries filter the information that enters the family. If the family is receptive to information from other systems, it may be considered relatively open. Individual families vary in the amount of openness to external stimuli.

SOCIALIZATION AND CHANGE

In the context of social change the openness of family systems to certain types of available information influences the norms and values that are transmitted in socialization. In a relatively closed family, family norms and values regardless of their content will be transmitted unchanged. If the family is selectively open only to those influences that support traditional standards, then socialization in the family will occur along traditional lines. Those families that are receptive to non-traditional values may incorporate social innovation in their socialization practices. The content of socialization is not always traditional or conducive to social conformity.

> "The transmission and enforcement of established norms is only a part of socialization. Except in the most static societies, norms are constantly being redefined and reshaped, even at the societal level. In modern, industrial societies a substantial degree of innovative behavior is, indeed, expected of those in positions of leadership. At the level of family and other intimate group relationships, the evolution of normative expectations is perhaps as important as the transmission of existing norms." (Clausen, 1968a: 6-7)

The content of socialization influences the result of socialization. The other factor determining socialization outcome is effectiveness of transmission. Effectiveness of socialization in this research refers to the degree to which the individual being socialized internalizes the norms, values, behaviors, thoughts, and motives of the socialization agent.

Farber (1964) suggests that the nature of the parent-child relationship may affect the impact of the parent as a socialization agent. According to this theory of "orderly replacement, discontinuity between norms that the parent intends to send and the norms that the child internalizes is a result of the failure to meet certain conditions in socialization.[1] Farber specifies four conditions: a sentimental factor, evaluative factor, cognitive factor and power factor. If these four conditions are not met, the possibility of discontinuity between parent and child, and the potential for social change is increased. The sentimental factor is composed of close identification and emotional attachment of the child to the parent. Farber reasons that "emotional ties to the previous generations bind the incoming generation to the norms and values of their elders". (1964: 32) Cool, distant relationships make the transmission of standards more difficult. The evaluative factor refers to support of family values and rules by other elements in society. This factor is not fulfilled if family members participate in systems that conflict with family values and rules.

Simple and non-conflicting values and norms constitute the cognitive factor. "There is only one set of rules that can be followed under any circumstances." (Farber, 1964: 31) The cognitive factor may be weakened by the openness of the family in that new perspectives are introduced. The fourth and final condition affecting stability of family culture is the power factor or slow turnover in family members. Continuity of values, etc. is maintained if small numbers of individuals are inducted and socialized at any one time. Large family size decreases individual parent-child interaction, thereby reducing opportunities to influence the child. Changes in norms and values may be expected if these four conditions are not met.

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[1] One assumption that Farber makes is that family norms, rules and values will be conservative if orderly replaced. This assumption is not made in this piece of research. Farber's conditions for orderly replacement will be applied regardless of socialization content. For example, the socialization of a schizophrenic in a schizophrenic family fulfills most of Farber's conditions.

If the socialization outcome depends on content and effectiveness, there are four possible results: effective traditional, ineffective traditional, effective non-traditional, ineffective non-traditional. Two of these situations have been employed as explanations of social change.

First, non-traditional norms and values may be the product of effective socialization to non-traditional norms and values. In this case, the socialization agents' standards are not consonant with conventional societal norms. This coincides with Clausen's (1968) idea that socialization may involve social innovation. Braungart's (1971) research supported the idea that children with non-traditional attitudes have been raised by parents with similar attitudes. He found that politically radical students tended to have parents who were also politically radical. While the research assumed that parents had socialized children, it may be that the students socialized their parents.

The second socialization situation utilized as an explanation of social change is ineffective socialization to traditional norms and values. Farber (1964) feels that ineffective socialization contributed to change in family culture. Yost and Adamek (1974) arrive at the same conclusion.

> "Radical attitudes (to the family institution) appear to be the result of inadequate socialization by relatively conventional parents who fail to present a united front, whose socialization efforts are not reinforced by other relatively conservative institutions... and who 'lose out' to more liberal socialization agents..." (Yost and Adamek, 1974: 121)

Ineffective socialization does not imply that the individual will automatically learn values and norms different from those ineffectively transmitted. Nor does ineffectiveness in parent-child interaction suggest that similar norms will not be acquired at a later date. However a negative evaluation of childhood socialization experiences may influence the individual to select norms and values different from those of the parents.

If socialization is related to social change, then socializers can facilitate adjustment to rapid technological and social change. A fundamental issue yet to be resolved is the balence of tradition and innovation in socialization that is required to produce an individual who is able to function effectively.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this study is to describe three socialization experiences - childhood, consciousness-raising and child rearing. While choldhood and child rearing have been extensively studied, the Women's CR groups have atracted little scientific notice. A number of value stances have been expressed with regard to CR groups and their effects, but these opinions are not supported by research.

One area that has been subject to speculation is the relationship between consciousness-raising and family interaction. The scarcity of research on the operation of CR groups and their effect on the complex functioning of families suggests the need for preliminary research. Studies of a descriptive, exploratory nature would be appropriate.

SAMPLE

The interests of this study guided the selection of a particular population. The term "population" in social research refers to an aggregate of individuals who share some common characteristics such as an event, experience or attitude.

This study focuses on the socialization experiences of women. One of the primary defining characteristics of the population in this research was a woman's membership in a consciousness-raising group associated with the Women's Liberation Movement. This type of consciousness-raising group may be defined as "groups of from six to twelve women who have met regularly for four months or more ... to share their experiences, to learn to understand themselves and how they relate to others, to become aware of special problems they face as women, and to support each other's attempts to make changes in their personal lives". (Malmo-Levine, 1972:2)

The CR group as a voluntary organization of women was selected for study for two reasons. First, the goals of the CR group appear to promote adult socialization in terms of personal awareness on a regular schedule. Second, women in CR groups tend to perceive themselves as exceeding the boundaries of the feminine stereotype. (Malmo-Levine, 1972) It was assumed that they evaluated this perception positively.

Within the consciousness-raising group, only married women with at least one preschool son (6 years of age or under) were interviewed. Despite criticism of sex role research which excludes unmarried women, marital status was controlled in this study. This kept some uniformity among the sample members and it also controlled for the effect of being the only adult in a one parent family. The difficulty of determining what part of the interaction patterns were related to the consciousness-raising experience and/or to the varying family resources was avoided.

Mothers of preschool sons were studied because there is some evidence that pressure on boys to conform to masculine traits is greater than pressure on girls in preschool years.

> "The training and subsequent behavior of boys is not so flexible. It would be unheard of for boys to wear dresses; if they want to cook or play with dolls, do not like sports, or are afraid to fight, this is cause for panic by parents, educators and psychologists. And in fact, boys do conform closely to the male goals and behavior required of them. They learn early not to exhibit feminine personality traits." (Chodorow, 1971: 277)

From a population of married CR group participants who had preschool sons, a non-random sample was drawn. A non-probability sample was selected because no suitable sampling frame was available. No list of consciousness-raising groups exists. Membership in a consciousness-raising group is not often discussed outside the group. Participants are often reluctant to reveal the identity of other members. The sample was drawn by personal contact with a few persons who were knowledgeable about consciousness-raising groups in the vicinity.

From the CR groups identified in Edmonton fitting the definition for the study, five married women with at least one preschool son (six years of age or younger) were interviewed. The sample size reflects in part the population size. Women who have attended CR groups constitute a small proportion of the total population.

CASE STUDY APPROACH

The exploratory nature of the study and the small sample size of the population created by both the newness of CR in the area and the controls desired influenced the selection of the case study method. The case study technique involves intensive examination of a few units of the population.

Case analysis is a little used method today. While it was very popular in the formative years of American sociology, the development of intricate statistical designs has overshadowed the use of case studies in the social sciences. The major criticism of case studies is that they reveal subjective information that does not constitute scientific proof. The data in the case studies cannot be used to test hypotheses.

The utility of case analysis lies in its potential to produce ideas, suggestions and tentative hypotheses about the interconnection of variables. It is appropriate in the context of discovery rather than the context of justification. Case materials can help base hypothesis formation in reality. The development of theory has often arisen out of the observation of single cases. While this is common in the physical sciences, it also occurs in the behavioral sciences. Freudian theory is one example of theory based on research of single units.

In addition to contributing to theory development, case materials provide a basis for understanding and interpreting other data.

> "Even social scientists committed to statistical hypotheses must rely upon case materials as a basis for understanding. One reason sociologists are so often unaware of the critical role of case materials for interpreting numerical data is that they tend to carry out research only within their own society and, moreover, to rely upon their own personal experiences as case data to provide the contextual basis for interpreting their findings...

> The popular notion that cases serve primarily as illustrative materials misses the main point, for in actuality they are the chief bases for our understanding of the numerical information."
> (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968: 263)

A major advantage of the case study approach is flexibility. The examination of single cases permits the use of procedures impractical on a larger scale. Henry's (1965) live-in observation of disturbed families for a period of two to three weeks is an example of a time consuming method that can be employed in gathering data. The type and amount of information gathered in case analysis may also vary. The concentration on a few cases can produce a large amount of detailed information.

DATA COLLECTION

In the initial stages of this research a self-administered questionnaire was developed. It included the Role Conception Inventory (Motz, 1952), Feminine Social Equality H-scale (Meier, 1972), and the Parent Attitude Research Instrument (Schaefer and Bell, 1958). In a pretest these measures proved to be relatively insensitive in that little variation was displayed. In addition, these instruments did not produce detailed data concerning family interaction.

Because of the disadvantages associated with the scales that were pretested, a number of open-ended questions were used instead of the precoded measures.[1] Individuals were permitted to respond in their own words. This type of answer could reveal differences in feelings, motives, interests and decisions that could not be obtained in the forced-choice questions. The open ended questions also allowed the collection of data concerning the dynamics of the family and the CR group.

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[1] The entire interview schedule is reported in Appendix I.

The interview schedule covered the following areas: demographic information, childhood background, marital roles, the consciousness-raising experience, attitudes and behaviors in child rearing, and sex role socialization. The section on childhood background attempted to gather information about family activities, psychological atmosphere of the home and the parents' roles. The subject's marital roles were described in an effort to determine the role models presented to her children. Aspects of CR group examined were the functioning of the group, the reactions of others and the perceived influence of group participation. The child rearing dimensions studied were similar to those factors described in the section on childhood background. Questions on sex role socialization dealt with possibilities of sex-typing and alternatives to sex-typing.

Behavioral intentions, respondents' proposed behaviors, in nine hypothetical child rearing situations were assessed using open-ended questions. The format was similar to the problematic approach constructed by Jackson (1956) but the situations in this study were described in greater detail. This follows Fishbein's (1967) suggestion that behavioral intentions are better predictors of behavior when the situation is specific. In some of the situations, respondents were asked to report their reactions in the presence of other people or in a setting outside the home, since these contingencies may influence behavior. (Acock and DeFleur, 1972; Wicker, 1969) Five of the situations dealt with problematic behaviors, such as aggression, that often concern parents. The other four situations referred to behavior that might be related to sex role stereotyping. These four situations were pretested and selected because they were found to represent common experiences and because there was some variation in behavioral intentions.

A pretest of the interview demonstrated that questions were relevant to the respondents' experience. It was noted that there was some difficulty in recalling childhood experiences, but this was limited to one or two respondents and a few questions.

Personal interviews were conducted with each sample member. The length of the interview varied between three and six hours. While some interviews lasted one session, most required two meetings. The interviews were tape recorded to avoid recording bias and assure accuracy of details.

DATA ANALYSIS

The nature of the data directs the method of analysis. Qualitative tather than quantitative data has been collected in this study. The description of individual cases has not produced a set of statistics. The sample size is small and sample design is non-random. Therefore, statistical analysis is inappropriate. The representativeness of the sample cannot be determined and the small sample size does not permit the use of large sample statistics.

Non-quantified data can be utilized in two ways: "to illustrate the range of meaning attached to any one category, and to stimulate new insights". (Selltiz et al., 1959) This study centres on the latter function. Inspection of raw (non-quantified) data may reveal a pattern of relationships between the variables. The details in raw data may also suggest a possible explanation of some relationships. In addition, raw data preserves information about dynamics or dimensions that may be lost in quantification.

Because it can stimulate new insights, the analysis of raw data is particularly fruitful in exploratory research. In this study the case studies provided raw data describing childhood, consciousness-raising and child rearing experiences. Table 1 presents the outline followed in the preparation of the case studies. The data was then summarized and examined for commonalities and differences. Final analysis of the case studies sought potential relationships worthy of future study.

Table 1

CASE STUDY OUTLINE

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- birthplace and age
- length of marriage
- age of children
- subject's education and work history
- husband's education and work history
- income
- religious affiliation

II. CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

- family composition and residence
- parents' education
- parents' religious affiliation
- parents' family roles
- family activities
- psychological atmosphere
  - relationship with parents
  - patterns of influence
  - control techniques
- relevance of parents to subjects philosophy of life

III. MARITAL ROLES

- task distribution

IV. CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

- reason for attending
- length of attendance
- personal benefits
- influence on relationships: marital, parent-child, other
- definition of the Women's Movement

V. CHILD REARING

- roles and responsibilities of parents
- philosophy of child rearing
- sources of child rearing information
- family activities
- psychological atmosphere
  - patterns of influence
  - control techniques
  - decision making

Table 1 (Con't)

V. CHILD REARING (Con't)

- disagreements with others about child rearing
- discrepancies in behaviors and intentions

VI. SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

- alternative to sex-typing
- comparison with other parents
- sex-typing by mother
- avoidance of sex-typing
- sex-typing by child
- sources of sex role stereotype
- influence on other parents

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study is to examine three socialization situations and determine potential directions for future research. The three situations are childhood experiences, consciousness-raising, and child rearing. This chapter describes in detail the operation of specific CR groups and reports on interviews with five women: Mary Harris, Alice Jones, Lynn Wilson, Pat Smith and Diane Martin.[1] Each case study is organized around the following topics: demographic information, childhood background, marital roles, consciousness-raising, child rearing and sex role socialization. These areas describe the socialization situations of interest in this study. The respondents' behavioral intentions in hypothetical child rearing situations are not included in the cases.[2]

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[1] The names are fictitious to insure the anonymity of the respondents.

[2] Appendix II reviews the respondents' anticipated behaviors in child rearing situations.

DESCRIPTION OF CR GROUPS

CR GROUP A

CR Group A was started in 1972. Pat Smith was one of the original members. After one year, the group lost some members. Group A then amalgamated with another CR group. At this point Alice Jones joined as a new member. Group A is still in progress although it does not meet regularly over the summer. Usually there are approximately 7 participants who meet once a week.

Group interaction is based on formal discussion. Pat indicated that there were some rules of conduct. Everyone has a change to speak uninterrupted. Advice or judgements are not offerred unless requested. Information is confidential. The general atmosphere is one of acceptance. Pat pointed out that there have been some "lapses" in following the guidelines. For example, a discussion of abortion split the group into 2 camps, neither accepting the other's approach. In the present group there is a high level of trust and confidence. Alice noted that this developed over time.

A number of topics were explored in the group. Generally discussion focused on personal experiences. Each year began with a sharing of personal background in an effort to achieve some inter-personal understanding. Personal problems have been discussed in the group but if they are prolonged, group members become uncomfortable with them. Then, topics such as sexuality, alternatives to the nuclear family and the meaning of femininity were examined. Pat found the orientation of the group to shift from personal to theoretical as the group progressed during a year. She suggested that external inputs may be needed in the long run.

The group members were heterogeneous in terms of personality, marital status, life style and family background. Both Pat and Alice felt that the group gave them insight into the women's similarities. They shared feelings and attitudes in a number of areas. For instance, all the women in the 2nd year of Group A had non-traditional attitudes to sex roles.

CR GROUP B

Group B developed out of a suburban wives' book club that Mary Harris belonged to. In 1970, the women read Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and identified with it. They decided to start another "discussion" group. At first the group was led by 2 resource people who did a lot of intellectualizing and provided most of the direction. Mary suspects that the anti-male feelings of the resource people prompted some women to leave the discussion group. In May 1971 the resource people moved to a different city. An expansion meeting was held without a designated leader. At that time, Lynn Wilson became a member. The group size increased twofold from approximately 8 to 15 members. Mary found it difficult to feel that she knew others well in the large group. Over the summer the group dwindled to a core of 8 to 10 people who met once very 2 weeks for approximately 1 year.[1]

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[1] It is assumed that both Mary and Lynn were members of the same core group. Because of confidentiality this could not be verified but there is no indication to the contrary.

The group then disbanded in 1972 because most participants felt that they had discussed enough and it was time for them to handle the information in their personal lives.

The main procedure of Group B was spontaneous, informal discussion. The discussion in the core group was more practical than theoretical while earlier experiences were more theoretical. Some of the topics were childhood experiences, present relationships and theoretical issues. There was a high level of trust and confidence in the core group that was reflected in the amount of self disclosure.

On one aspect of the group, Mary and Lynn's perceptions differed. Mary saw the CR group as "caring, not confronting". It did not force change. Lynn, on the other hand, felt that individuals were confronted with their behavior, and this could stimulate change. Lynn did mention that some members of the group could not confront, but this was acceptable.

The heterogeneity of Group A also existed in Group B. Again, the women felt that they were similar in attitudes and feelings, including a non-traditional approach to sex roles.

CR GROUP C

Diane Martin was the only respondent in this study who belonged to Group C. Information collected about the group's history is dated from the time she joined, but the group was in operation before that time. Diane has attended regular meetings with 6 other women for the past 3 years and intends to keep participating.

The members meet once every 2 weeks to discuss a range of topics. These include "how it was when we were small to how it makes us feel now, what it's like being a mother, the influence we have on our children, self fulfillment, stereotyped roles as housewives, and what happens in a group if you don't act in a stereotypic way". While most topics focus on personal concerns, some theoretical perspectives are introduced. The atmosphere is one of openness, support and acceptance. While change is supported, it is not forced by the CR group.

There is a high level of trust and confidence. While the members vary in backgrounds and life styles, they share the same attitudes, philosophies, goals and feelings.

CASE 1: MARY HARRIS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Mary Harris was born in Canada 31 years ago. She has been maried for 9 years. The Harrises have two children - Becky (6½ years) and Don (4 years). Mary has one degree and is currently studying part time to complete another. She is trained as a social worker and worked in this field before being married. Just after her marriage Mary continued to work for two more years. Since the children have been born, Mary has not worked outside the home.

John Harris, Mary's husband, has a graduate degree. He owns and manages a business. Their approximate family income before taxes is $15,000. Neither John nor Mary belongs to a church nor attends church. They would describe themselves as not religious.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

During her childhood, Mary lived with both parents and a younger brother and sister in a large city. Mr. Miller has one year of University education. Mrs. Miller has a degree. Mary considered her parents not religious.

The family roles were distributed so that Mary's mother had the primary housekeeping tasks of cooking and cleaning, and her father assumed the job of earning the family income and doing outside chores. Mrs. Miller returned to work only after her youngest child was in junior high school. Mary shared some househkeeping tasks with her mother as she got older.

She also helped her father garden and wash the car. Mary feels now that she helped him more than her mother. The children were responsible for keeping their own rooms clean. The girls were assigned different tasks from their brother. For example, he shovelled the snow while they set the table.

The Millers had many family activities. Mary and her father did active things together, i.e. roughhousing and playing catch. She and her mother tended to talk together rather than play. Mrs. Miller often took the children to the lake, which they enjoyed. Outside the home there were few activities with Mr. Miller alone; and then only when circumstances dictated. Family outings included picnics, movies and dinners.

In general, Mary felt that her relationship with her parents as a child was good. She sometimes saw her mother as a disciplinarian and her father as the friendly one. More recently Mary has come to realize that her mother was as caring, but she was often left out of the fun. For example, after dinner Mr. Miller would read stories to the children while their mother did the dishes. Mary continues to see her parents frequently in the summer and occasionally the rest of the year. She now feels closer to her mother than her father.

Mary judged her parents' marital relationship as good. While they had sharp differences, they never fought openly in front of the children. Mary often served as a mediator in her parents' communication problems, explaining each to the other, a task she did not enjoy and avoids in her relationship today.

Mary was an adventurous child who did a lot of things without supervision. She usually initiated group activities. There was a great deal of "idscretely supervised" freedom extended. The main rules Mary had were telling your mother where you were going, and being home when you said you would be home. The limits tended to be reasonable and fairly flexible.

Parental discipline changed with age. When younger, Mary would be spanked or "hollered at". There was a greater use of withdrawal of privileges and the "either-or" method when Mary was older. The latter method was used most frequently but proved to be ineffective. Mr. Miller's use of consequences is exemplified in the following statements: "If you don't do as I say, then you've hurt my feelings, you reject me as a person" or "A good daughter would..."

Mary's present philosophy of life is based somewhat on a reaction to her parents' way of life. Their goals differ, with Mary stressing happiness and self esteem, and her parents stressing financial security and status. Some of the Millers' values, such as positive regard for other family members, do apply to Mary's life style. The major influences on Mary's philosophy of life were the CR group (primary influence), a university atmosphere which challenged tradition, dating experiences and her husband's attitudes.

MARITAL ROLES

John and Mary were married when they were attending school and working full time, respectively. While many household tasks were shared, some were assigned to Mary (laundry, cooking dinner) and others to John (money management, deciding where to live). The division of labor has since shifted.

Since Becky was born, John has been the sole income earner. Housework has largely fallen to Mary. John does share in child care and some household tasks when he is at home. He has taken care of the children on weekends when Mary has been away and this has been an eye-opener.

While the distribution of tasks is largely traditional, the Harrises feel that their attitudes are equalitarian. "He feels that what I do, and I feel that what I do, is equally valuable to what he does and probably twice as frustrating." Mary is satisfied with the division of labor for now. In the earlier stages of consciousness-raising she had felt guilty about not contributing any income. Mary does anticipate returning to work in the future when the children are older.

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

Mary was one of the original members of Group B. Early in Mary's CR experience, she and John were attempting to resolve some difficulties they were having with regard to their roles and relationships. At that time Mary shared few of her experiences with the CR members. Over the two year period that she was a member, she was able to gradually share more and more. Although the group has disbanded, Mary has maintained regular contact with a few core members.

For Mary, the most valuable part of the experience was personal development. The CR group provided a vehicle for self discovery. "I think I am more in touch with myself. I've learned how to recognize my feelings." Mary felt that the group facilitated some change in her attitudes, "attitudes to myself mainly what I could do, what kind of person I was and what kind of person I could be. Also, in my relationships with other people, what I could do and where I could risk." Through group interaction, Mary's perception of the role of the mother and housewife changed. She now regards the role as valuable and worthwhile.

Mary felt that the personal changes initiated in the group setting have had an impact on her family life. Mary has discussed with her husband the CR topics that were pertinent to their relationship. These discussions, according to Mary, were consciousness-raising for John. John's attitude to the CR group and Mary's participation has changed over time. Originally he thought that it was a good idea because he judged their marriage as liberated. As it turned out, his initial feelings altered when he thought that he might be a topic of discussion. This made him uncomfortable.

In fact his relationship with his wife had been discussed in group but Mary was not explicit about the impact of these discussions. He was particularly vulnerable for the first year and at one point asked if she still had to attend. After Mary and John "straightened out their relationship", he no longer saw the group as a threat. Mary felt that he may have felt left out of having a very close relationship with a group of people.

Mary also felt that the personal changes supported by the CR group indirectly influenced her relationships with her children. "If I am changing and seeing things differently and perceiving things faster and getting more in touch with myself ... I tend to be more in touch with them (the children)." From learning in the group to handle things on a "feeling level", Mary has found it easy to deal with her children in that way. The beginning group discussed child rearing specifics such as toys, sex role stereotypes and expectations. The core group dealt more with trying to understand children's behavior and thinking of children as people. There was a mutual exchange of information and practical techniques. Child rearing, not a regular CR group topic, was introduced either if someone had a problem situation or an interesting observation to share. Mary felt that her children had considered the changes in their relationship part of an ongoing process.

The CR experience has had less impact on Mary's relationships outside the family. Mary is cautious about discussing CR topics with friends and neighbors because she feels that it makes them uncomfortable. While she doesn't want to change them, she won't pretend to think the same way they do. Mary mentioned that her CR experience was used once by a host to spark a lagging conversation and she resented this.

Like other women in the CR group, Mary is in favor of the Women's Movement. She sees it as involving both sexes. "If we unlock the roles for women, then they have to unlock for men." Mary thinks the central issue is allowing a woman to develop her full potential in whatever direction it takes her.

CHILD REARING

To Mary the role of the mother and the father are the same. They are both part of a partnership. The parents' responsibilities are providing for basic physical needs, and also providing an atmosphere that allows for individual growth and development. Once parents decide to have children, and Mary believes that it should be a matter of choice, they should be prepared to invest time and energy. When children are young, Mary feels for herself that one adult's main responsibility should be child care. If much care is delegated to resources outside the family, the parents miss some satisfaction as well as some drudgery.

Having Becky seemed to be part of the order of life. John and Mary did want and expect to have children. After

Becky's birth, John and Mary found that they lost a lot of freedom to do spur of the moment things. Child rearing involved both hard work and pleasure. Since the first pregnancy was difficult and with experience in raising a child, Don (the second child) was a carefully considered decision.

Mary's philosophy of child rearing is to allow children to be themselves. She also places importance on communicating with children. Her goal is "to have them grow to be independent, functioning adults who like themselves and what they're doing, and aren't afraid to try new things".

As yet there are no tasks that the children are required to perform. But they will help when asked, i.e. unload the dishwasher, run errands. The children like to help their mother bake. Don particularly likes to dust. Becky and Don don't help their father do much at home because they are often asleep when he is at home. One thing that they do like to help John with is washing the car.

Mary enjoys talking with her children. When John is away, they have lots of conversations. She also reads them stories and plays records for them. John likes to take Becky and Don out to do and see things. He too enjoys reading stories. The Harrises enjoy a number of family activities such as bike riding and picnics. Because of their individual abilities, Becky and Don do not share all activities. For instance, Becky takes music lessons while Don goes to gym classes. Mary feels that the children's activities are differentiated only according to personality.

Mary and John's interaction affects Becky and Don both positively and negatively. The children copy their parents in talking about feelings. Also, if John and Mary talk about disagreements, Mary feels that the children learn that conflict can be handled. However, if there is an argument with yelling and crying, this frightens the children. Anger with the spouse can color relationships with children.

Mary feels that the pattern of influence in their family is not uni-directional. The children also influence their parents. In Mary's words the children keep her honest. It's much harder to lie and then have to be devious. According to Mary, Don is also influenced by the children, but to a lesser extent since he doesn't always feel that they have the right to disagree with him. Having children has had an impact on the Harrises' marital interaction. They have less time available to spend with each other. And sometimes disagreements in child rearing introduces tension to the marriage.

Becky and Don have a lot of "supervised freedom". Limits are defined because of safety, time, convenience and the child's ability. Some of the rules in the Harris home are: no physical fighting, express discontent verbally; don't lie; don't cross the busy street or play in the alley; and let mother know where you are. If a rule is broken, punishment is immediate and often a natural consequence of the behavior. Unlike her mother, the consequence is not 'hurt feelings'. For example, if Becky makes a mess, she has to clean it up. The discipline depends on the severity of the misbehavior.

If Mary wants to make an impression, she may spank. Sometimes the children are sent to their rooms but never without supper.[1]

Don and Becky help make some of the decisions at home. They can help decide what to eat and they choose what to wear every day. The children may also suggest some family activity. Mary limits their choices as she feels children that age cannot always make the most effective or reasonable choices.

Generally Mary and John share the same child rearing philosophy. They do have minor disagreements about technique. Sometimes Mary feels that John is too authoritarian, but generally the children have a say in decisions affecting them.

Mary and her mother do not agree about several aspects of child rearing. Mary perceives their differences as a result of both changing trends in child rearing advice and different outlooks on the child. She feels that her mother focussed on things the child was "supposed to do" and ways the child was "supposed to be". Mary is content to let her children be themselves. She avoids utilizing the emotional consequence mode of discipline that her mother practiced. Mary is more lax about toilet training and feeding behaviors than her mother was. She feels that the child doesn't have to be pressured at the parents' convenience.

While Mary disagrees with some of her mother's child-rearing practices, she feels that she does act as her mother once did. She sometimes deals with problems in an irrational, emotional way. Occasionally when she is angry or frustrated, she will take it out on the children when the real target is someone else. Mary is aware of imitating her mother's behavior but she is unable to stop until the episode is over.

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[1] Predicted discipline in hypothetical child rearing situations may be found in Appendix II.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

The alternative to sex role stereotypes that limits children is encouraging them on the basis of individual abilities. Mary feels that in this respect she is different from her neighbors who do treat sons and daughters differently. Although she prefers not to stereotype, Mary thinks that this may occur unintentionally. It also may work in reverse. For example, once Becky mentioned that she couldn't stand on her head like Don. Mary explained that it was a matter of practice but Becky replied that it didn't matter. She and Don didn't have to be able to do the same things. Mary reported that she must consciously work to avoid sex role stereotyping of her children. Major techniques are commenting on sex-typing when it does occur and avoiding sexist statements.[1] "I'm not prepared to endorse even by omission any stereotyping ... If I hear it and I don't deal with it, then I'm letting them think it's OK."

Mary isn't aware of her children doing any obvious or consistent stereotyping. Once Becky constructed a "No boys allowed" sign but it was a retaliation measure that was never enforced. Since attending school, Becky seems to have encountered more sex-typing. Don has done some sex-typing of objects and activities, but it was discussed and hasn't come up again. Mary feels that the sources of these sex role stereotypes is not adults but other children.

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[1] Detailed accounts of strategies in sex-typing situations are found in Appendix II.

As they encounter more sex-typing, Mary anticipates that her children will be surprised. She hopes that they will not accept the stereotypes but that they will bring them home to check them out. Mary is not sure of how much influence she and her husband have on their children's beliefs about sex roles. "We're doing what we can to provide the atmosphere where there are some choices."

Mary only discusses her experiences with and techniques of avoiding sex-typing of children with socializers who are receptive and initiate the conversation. She may comment in a joking way if other persons sex-type in front of Don and Becky. Mary wants it clear where she stands as far as her children are concerned, but she's "not waving a banner".

CASE 2: ALICE JONES

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Alice Jones was born in Australia 28 years ago. She has been married 4½ years and came to Canada in 1970. The Joneses have two sons - Ron (3½ years) and Steven (4 months). Alice has a B.Sc. and a teaching diploma. She worked full time as a teacher before she was married. Since being married she has only worked part time as a lab demonstrator for 2 years before Steven's birth.

Peter Jones is presently completing a graduate degree. He was previously employed as an agriculture officer. The present family income is $4,000. Neither Alice nor Peter attend church regularly.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

As a child Alice lived with both parents, an older brother, 3 younger brothers and 1 younger sister in a small town in Australia. Her father has a diploma in engineering from night school. Alice's mother has one year of university and nursing training. Mr. and Mrs. Davidson, like Alice, are not religious.

When the children were young, Mrs. Davidson's main responsibilities were home and child care. She only returned to work as a teacher when her youngest child was 7 years old. Mr. Davidson worked as a design engineer. His main duty at home was disciplining the children. While he was interested in child rearing he did not participate in physical care.

He was more interested in "getting his ideas across to us". Alices' mother did some disciplining but her role as disciplinarian decreased as the children got older. Alice feels that her parents are non-traditional with respect to sex roles and philosophy of life, and slightly non-traditional when it comes to child rearing.

All the children had some duties at home. Once children reached school age there was a roster system for washing dishes. Alice learned to sew from her mother. She would help her mother sew and keep house. The boys, more often than Alice, would assist their father but Alice remembers helping her father build and paint houses. Alice felt that there wasn't any sex discrimination in the treatment of children. Her parents were honest and practiced what they preached.

Alice doesn't recall playing with her parents as a youngster. Her mother would take the children on picnics or to the museum. Father didn't go on these excursions. He preferred to take the older children on hikes. There never was a family activity involving both parents.

Alice had a fairly harmonious and stable childhood. She tended to idealize her father. Alice said that she had little respect for her mother but later realized that Mrs. Davidson deserved more recognition. The Davidsons live in Australia and have never visited Alice. It's hard for Alice to determine what their relationship would be like now.

The pattern of influence in the Davidson family was parent dominant. The compatibility of the parents enhanced their relationship with the children. While the children did influence their parents' way of life because of family size, Alice feels that she did not influence her parents' thinking until she was older.

Alice was not an independent child. She was compliant and experienced little conflict with her parents. In a group she tended to be a follower. The Davidsons left a lot of decisions up to the children. The exception was those decisions affecting their father. For example, he decided what to watch on TV if he was watching.

The children were given quite a bit of freedom. Rules were few and fairly flexible. They were set and recognized by both parents. One rule that Alice remembers is that the children should speak to their father, not each other, at the dinner table. The rules seemed to become more permissive over time.

If she broke a rule, Alice was sent to her room or she had privileges withdrawn. Generally her father was the disciplinarian. He rarely used physical punishment and then only with the boys. Mrs. Davidson tended to shout and use her husband as a threat, i.e. "Wait until your father gets home."

Mr. Davidson had a powerful impact on Alice's philosophy of life. His ideas were central until Alice entered university. While she had encountered other values, the values learned from her parents continue to be significant.

Alice's goals are similar to her parents. None of them place a lot of importance on money and material possessions. In terms of the value of a woman's role in the family, she is slightly different from her mother because Alice doesn't want her life to revolve around being a wife and mother.

MARITAL ROLES

When first married Alice earned the income and did most of the housekeeping. Peter, who was unemployed, prepared lunch and supper. He also paid the bills.

The division of labor shifted when children were born. Peter became the main income earner and Alice has been primarily responsible for child care. Since Peter returned to school, he has had less time to help with housework and child care. In order to spend time with Ron, Peter puts him to bed while Alice does the dishes. There has also been a gradual change in money management with Alice now doing the budgeting.

Alice is not particularly satisfied with the present division of labor. If Peter wasn't studying, she would like their task distribution to be different. She anticipates changes once he finishes school.

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

Alice spoke to a friend of hers who was in a CR group. She was interested and joined Group A in September 1973 while she was expecting Steven.

For Alice the most valuable part of the CR experience is "having this relationship with women that I've never really had before. I've had other relationships but they seem to be superficial." According to Alice, knowing that other women felt the same way she did led to self understanding and self acceptance. The CR group supported some of Alice's attitudes but it didn't change any.

No one topic seemed more interesting to Alice than others. She discussed with Peter the topics that he might be interested in. She would tell him a little about other women's thoughts. Peter is neither for nor against the CR group. "He didn't indicate one way or the other. He lets me make my own decisions."

Alice feels that her relationship with her husband may have improved slightly. There were ups and downs because of the CR group and the way Alice felt. Now Alice feels that she and Peter communicate,more now. Alice feels that Peter has changed more than she. "Actually I don't really think that I've changed all that much. He's adapted to me a little more."

Alice feels that she has transferred her CR group behavior to other situations, i.e. being more outspoken with adult friends. It has yet to influence her interaction with her children. Alice tends not to discuss the CR group and its topics with friends outside the group. If she does, it's in very general terms. Some friends have expressed surprise at her joining a CR group. While Alice has mentioned group membership to her parents they have not remarked on it.

Alice identifies with the Women's Movement, as did most of the other CR group members. But she felt the group was more personal than the Women's Movement. "I feel that the Women's Movement is very wide - it's the idea that a woman is as capable as a man."

CHILD REARING

Alice feels that the mother is responsible for meeting the infant's needs. The father may assist the mother when she is busy. When the child is able to recognize individuals (about 9 months) the father becomes more important. To be able to spend time with the father is important because the child forms a close relationship with both parents.

Alice sees present day parental roles as quite different. She would like them to be less structured. Either the father or mother could perform a specific task according to the time available. Their main responsibility is to raise an adaptable, independent person who will be able to fit into society.

Alice believes that having children should be a considered decision. Her first pregnancy was the result of contraceptive failure. The Jones's second child was planned.

For Alice, responding to the child's changing needs is a prime consideration in interaction. "A child is not a little adult ... a child is important as a person." Adults should respect a child's individuality.

The main sources of information about child-rearing that Alice has used are Neill's Summerhill and Dodson's How to Parent. She also feels that she picked up a lot subconsciously from her parents who were very interested in child-rearing. Sometimes Peter influences Alice in that they may have different interpretations of the same books.

At home Ron doesn't perform any tasks other than personal care. Sometimes he likes to help vacuum and wash the floor. For a three-year-old Alice believes that life should be pretty well all play. Ron sometimes helps his father do little chores or watches his father work. Again Alice noted that this is more a part of play than actual work.

Alice enjoys going places with Ron in the morning when he is alert and asking questions. She finds that answering his questions, talking to him and knowing that he's listening is most rewarding. Both Alice and Peter like taking Ron to the library. He often goes alone with his father. Peter also takes him to swimming and gym classes. Generally one or the other parent will take Ron out. They rarely take a family outing. Alice does not treat her boys the same because they are different personalities and ages.

Alice and Peter's relationship affects Ron. When they are affectionate to each other, he becomes more affectionate. Alice feels that their conflicts do affect Ron but she's not sure how. They prefer to avoid conflicting in front of their children.

Alice supposes that Ron does affect her behavior. Sometimes when she is angry or impatient, she feels that "he made me be like that". Alice doesn't like to blame him. Peter also becomes angry at times. This occurs particularly when Ron is being demanding. When there are problems handling their children, it affects their marital relationship.

Alice believes in quite a bit of freedom for children but not to the extent prescribed in Summerhill. While she thinks that parents shouldn't use a lot of rules for their own convenience, there are limits that should be set. As children get older they are more capable of making their own decisions and can be given more freedom. Some of the rules in the Jones household are: eat all your meat before you get dessert; once in bed you can play or read but stay in bed; respect books; tidy up your own toys; safety rules; don't touch the needle of the record player.

If a rule is broken, Alice reasons with Ron. She tells him what might have happened. He doesn't often break rules. While reasoning is easiest and most widely used, Alice does use other methods. If he is being particularly disobedient or in Alice's words "cheeky", then he gets "smacked". This usually happens when he's tired and reasoning won't work. If Ron misbehaves at supper and makes things unpleasant, then he is sent to his room and can come out "when he feels better". Some minor misbehavior may be ignored because "if he doesn't get an audience, he doesn't do it again".[1]

Alice will ask Ron if he wants to go shopping or out to some other activity and try to fit the activity to when he feels like going. This makes it more pleasant for both of them. When she is shopping Alice doesn't feel that she's significantly influenced by her son. Ron can decide what he wants to wear in the morning. He also sometimes chooses what he'd like to eat for lunch. But the choices are limited. "I believe the child shouldn't control you. He shouldn't feel that he can do anything he wants to do ... A child can be spoiled." Alice anticipates that Ron will be able to make more decisions in the future.

Alice and Peter generally agree about the way children should be raised. They always talk over any differences and come to a consensus. They believe that they should always be consistent. There shouldn't be any discrepancy between words and actions. While Alice has never discussed child-rearing with her parents she feels that there are some differences. First, Alice strongly believes that girls should be given some sort of sex education by their parents. Second, Alice's mother seems to be less permissive than

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[1] For examples of discipline in specific instances refer to Appendix II.

Alice. For example, she believes in earlier toilet training. Alice sees their differences as a change in child rearing practices over time. While Mrs. Davidson followed the trend in her day, Alice has ideas that are more popular now. Alice generally raises her children in the same way her friends do, although they tend to use more "don'ts" and "you've been tolds".

Alice may be acting like her parents in her relationship with her children but she is not aware of it. Peter points out that she has some mannerisms that are like her mother and she wonders if this imitation has been carried over into child rearing.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Alice feels that sex role stereotypes for children are unrealistic. While there are innate differences, it is unnecessary to impose other restrictions. As an alternative to sex-typing Alice proposes that children should grow up undifferentiated by sex: doing the same things and having the same parental expectations. "If I had a daughter I hope I wouldn't treat her any different - but I don't know."

Alice is not aware of sex-typing Ron. "I think of him as a three-year-old child." She believes that the absence of sex-typing in her home as a child is an important contribution to her non-sexist approach. With respect to sex roles she feels that her children are being raised the same way she was brought up. Alice does think that she differs from her neighbors in terms of sex-typing.

Sometimes Alice has to stop and think to avoid sex-typing. As a model to her sons she does a lot of practical things, i.e. home repairs, that Peter also does. Ron expects that she can and will do these things. Alice lets Ron dress up in girls' clothes and go outside to play. If he is teased, he works it out himself. If he asks for an explanation, Alice will talk to him. Another technique that Alice uses is to comment on sex-typing.[1]

As yet, Alice feels that Ron does not sex-type activities or objects, but she is certain that this will occur at some stage. For example, she anticipates that his play group will start to split along sex lines. She points to TV as a source of stereotypes. Ron is exposed to conditioning by others, he will have to make up his own mind. Alice hopes that she will be an important influence in that choice.

Alice rarely tries to help other parents or express an opinion about child rearing. She never brings up sex-typing of children. She doesn't feel that she would influence most people. However, if individuals are willing to listen and change, then someone may be able to assist them.

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[1] For a more detailed account of her techniques refer to Appendix II.

CASE 3: LYNN WILSON

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Lynn Wilson was born in Canada 34 years ago. She has been married for 13 years. The Wilsons have seven children: Ruth (12 years), Sharon (10 years), Ann (9 years), Debbie (7 years), Paul (6 years), and Jack and Julie (4 years - twins). Lynn has 3½ years of university and 2 years of college. She was trained as a teacher and adolescent counsellor. Lynn worked full time before marriage. After marriage she worked for four years in jobs that always involved her children's activities. For example, she taught kindergarten in 1967 when all 4 children were young. Lynn has just begun working at a job that does not involve her own children. She is a counsellor at a residential treatment center.

Gerry Wilson has one year of university and presently is working as a radio announcer. Their approximate family income is $18,000. Lynn views herself as being moderately religious and Gerry as quite religious.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

As a child Lynn lived in a small town with both her parents, three older brothers, two older sisters, two younger brothers and four younger sisters. Her father had 3 degrees. Her mother completed Grade 11. Both Mr. and Mrs. Collins were Roman Catholic and attended church regularly. Lynn's mother was very religious and her father was slightly less so.

Mrs. Collin's main duties were housekeeping. When her daughters got older they took this over. While occasionally she worked part time as an interviewer and as a door-to-door salesman of home products to supplement the family income, she only worked after the children came home from school. Mr. Collins was the primary family breadwinner. He worked as a teacher and high school principal. The children consulted their father if they had problems. Both parents were disciplinarians although they didn't agree in methods.

Mrs. Collins expected her children to help her in her household tasks. Both the boys and girls helped her preserve food while the girls were specially instructed in how to wash the floor. Lynn recalls helping her father with the gardening. On occasions when Mr. Collins was left in charge of the home, he would request a lot of help from the children.

There were a lot of family activities. Both parents would sing, tell stories and play with the children. Some of the more organized activities were picnics, movies and going to church. Mrs. Collins occasionally took Lynn out selling with her. She enjoyed having Lynn sing for her. With her father Lynn would go on walks and discuss books they were reading. Lynn enjoyed talking with her parents.

For the Collins children there was a lot of sex-typing of various activities. Boys could go out at night and girls couldn't. Boys could keep the money they earned but girls had to turn it back to the family. Boys were given bicycles but girls didn't get them. Girls did more of the housework.

The boys used to say that their parents took better care of the daughters in that they were more protective and tender. This system of differentiation was never explained.

Lynn characterized her childhood as happy because there was a lot of fun. She would have liked more privacy but it was difficult because of family size. If there was an unhappy part it was not being able to discuss problems or unhappy feelings because it "might hurt your parents". As a child Lynn felt closer to her father. Now that she is older she feels she can understand both her parents better. She knows that she can be supportive to mother. Mr. Collins died about a year ago. Mrs. Collins lives in the same city as Lynn. They keep in touch and visit occasionally.

Lynn feels that her parents' relationship influenced her in many ways. Mrs. Collins used to say that her husband had no backbone. Lynn reports that this was confusing to Lynn because she liked things about both her parents. When asked whether she influenced her parents she stated that only since she turned 31 has she recognized her influence on her parents. As an adult she has been supportive and helped them deal with difficulties. For example, Lynn was the only family member to speak at her father about how he felt when he was dying. Lynn also feels that she influenced her parents while she was a child but she's not sure how. She came to this conclusion because her mother is a different person now that she is on her own.

Lynn has always been different from others in her family. "I was always the example of what shouldn't be." She labels herself as "the family scapegoat". She was a very independent child.

Her parents had different ideas about control of children. Mr. Collins felt that it was fine to leave the children with quite a bit of freedom. But Mrs. Collins had a lot of ideas about what the children should be and they were expected to live up to these standards. There were many rules to follow, including "wear your nice clothes only on Sunday", and "eat everything on your plate and like it".

Discipline in the Collins household was an issue between the parents. If a rule was broken, Mr. Collins would talk and reason with the children. He was not concerned with the child's point of view but with how other people would see them. He would tell the children how he wanted things done. Mrs. Collins, on the other hand, would become extremely emotional and exaggerate a minor event. She tended to scream and nag. And when the children were younger she might slap. Lynn believed these methods were largely ineffective.

Some of the values that Lynn learned from her parents are incorporated in her philosophy of life. They are: responding to demands of others, dealing with a problem by examining basics, and always being involved and questioning. Her parents however haven't been the greatest influences in her philosophy of life. Later experiences have been important. The Zen way of thinking, a liberated friend and a counselor have all influenced her way of thinking.[1] The CR group has also provided inputs. Lynn points to her last pregnancy as a turning point in her life. She decided from then on that she would assert herself.

Lynn's life goal is to live and die with dignity. Whereas she is self-oriented, her parents were quite other-oriented. Lynn feels she is more aware than her mother of her behavior and motives.

MARITAL ROLES

When first married, Gerry earned the family income and Lynn was responsible for many things at home. Cooking, washing the dishes and taking care of money was alternately done by both. They have been mutually responsible for child care. This division of labor has changed. Lynn is no longer solely responsible for the house. Occasionally she is relied on to do too many things and they just don't get done. At first it was hard for her husband to get used to cooking because he ran out of ideas. The question of who does the cooking is now a matter of time and convenience. When she returned to college Lynn initiated a lot of the changes because she didn't have time to do everything. The children have been given a bit of responsibility. Lynn is satisfied with the present division of labor.

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[1] It appears that the counsellor was consulted because of personal problems but the respondent was not willing to expand on this.

CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

Curiosity prompted Lynn to join a CR group. A friend of hers who was in Group B introduced her. Lynn joined the group in May 1972 after her twins were born. She attended regularly for a year. Lynn thinks of the group often and contacts some of the members occasionally.

Lynn didn't find one topic discussed by the group more interesting than others. She still questions some of the things that were said and didn't agree with others. She found it most interesting to find out things about herself.

Lynn didn't often speak to Gerry about the CR group. He sometimes teased her and said it was stupid. However, later he admitted that he would have liked a group for himself. Lynn really started doing things while in the group and he wanted the same push. Gerry did have opportunities to join a men's group but he was suspicious and would have needed more prompting. In retrospect Lynn feels that Gerry was supportive to her and her attendance in the CR groups although she didn't realize it at the time.

Lynn has discussed some CR topics with women friends outside the group. Many have laughed and put it down but they were curious about what was happening. Lynn has borrowed from the CR experience when similar topics have been introduced by friends.

One day when the Collins family was together, Lynn's brothers were teasing her about Women's Lib. When she talked about the issues they asked her questions. Her father and brothers were supportive. Her sister struggled with the ideas. One issue that did come up with her mother and aunt was "have we been wasting our lives?". Since that meeting she has shared a number of thoughts with her sisters but they remain traditional in Lynn's estimation.

Lynn doesn't feel that the other CR members were as intense as she. Each one had certain needs to be met in the group. Lynn's were to understand what getting along with other women and being a woman meant. The group didn't change any of Lynn's attitudes. Rather, "it gave me some liberty in expressing what I really thought". She sees the group as stimulating growth. "The consciousness raising group was the beginning of awareness for me. I've done a lot of things since then in order to pursue the kind of things that were happening there."

Lynn feels that she and Gerry have a more meaningful relationship since the CR experience. It has been a very conscious change that they both feel good about. Lynn feels the improvement has been in response to her personal changes. Gerry once inquired, "Do you think I'm changing enough to meet your needs now?".

The personal changes initiated in the CR group have influenced the way Lynn relates with her children. At first the children didn't support her going to group meetings.

"None of my friends' mothers are going to Women's Lib meetings. Do you have to?" When Lynn returned to college, the children had to accept more responsibility for themselves. They remind her if she falls back on old patterns. "They sure tell me about it if I go back and do some of the things I used to do. The say 'Hey, I'm not a baby'." Lynn finds it hard to determine the exact effect of the CR group because many things were changing then and have changed since. It may have helped her be more open and honest with her girls and more willing to recognize that her children don't always like themselves.

Lynn sees the Women's Movement as different things to different people. "I guess everyone sees it differently. My need is to see the Women's Movement as wanting the emancipation of women." She sees as a central issue the fallacy that women are more emotional than men and can't do the job. Women believe this as much as men.

CHILD REARING

Lynn sees mothers and fathers as nurturing persons who share a parental role. If people decide to have children then they are committed to the responsibility. Their major responsibility is helping children grow up by being directive and demanding - "no kid puts out without pressure". The parents set up norms and values which the children may eventually reject.

Lynn sees having and raising children as involving a lot of crises. She and Gerry had always wanted a large family but they did not particularly plan their children. They weren't prepared at first to be parents.

Lynn's philosophy of child rearing is based on the things she wanted but never received as a child. This includes trying to understand the child, meeting negative as well as positive needs, treating children as people, and not using children to meet adult needs. Some sources of information about child rearing have been books (Love is Not Enough, P.E.T.), her counselor, other people at work, and other parents. Her own experiences with other children and self-examination have also influenced her child rearing ideas.

Lynn finds that she treats her children differently because they have different personalities. Only those children wanting to go are taken on outings. Outings include picnics, grocery shopping, bike rides, swimming and skating. Gerry does some things with individual children. For example, every time a child loses a tooth he takes that child alone on an outing of his choice. Both parents like telling stories and listening to music with the children.

The children help their father paint, wallpaper, keep house and remember things to get or do. They help their mother do a big clean-up of the house. The children are responsible for a lot of the housekeeping. The house is theirs so they have to do some work in it.

The Wilson children watch the way their parents show affection for each other and then compare it to see if they are treated in the same way. They always seem to be curious about what their parents are doing. If there is conflict, then they are uncomfortable and stand very close together.

Lynn feels the children influence her. Some of their behavior has caused her to re-examine some of her beliefs. For example, she thinks that each child should have a separate bed, but some of them like to sleep together. She also finds that she more carefully considers the things she says. Her husband is affected as well. He recognizes the importance of children and sometimes uses their ideas and materials at work. Having children has affected the time Lynn and Gerry spend together, in terms of both amount and activity.

Lynn feels that children need limitations. The amount of freedom granted depends on the situation and the child's age. The limits help a child gain control of himself and the world. Lynn believes that children will ask for freedom if they want it, particularly if they see another child with the same privileges or responsibilities. If it takes too long for a child to ask for a freedom, then Lynn will suggest it.

Lynn distinguishes between the rules she and Gerry set, and the rules the children set for themselves. The parents have set meal time rules such as speak one at a time, ask to leave the table and don't leave until everyone is finished. They also have made following regulations: don't lie, bed by 9:30 p.m., get yourself up in the morning. The children have set other rules such as don't play or ride your bike in the street. It is usually the older children that set the rules.

If Lynn sets a rule, then she enforces it. The children will often enforce their own rules. Lynn generally disciplines by consequences. For example, if clothes aren't taken to the laundry room, then they just don't get washed. If a privilege is abused, then it is taken away for a while. Lynn detests physical punishment and only spanks when she's pushed past her tolerance level. She feels that discipline in terms of consequences is a responsible way of relating to children.[1]

The children are allowed to decide what time to go to bed on holidays, who to invite over to play, how to spend their allowance, what they want to wear, and where to spend Sunday afternoon. They are also consulted on what to eat and how to spend holidays. The choices they have to select from depend on financial resources, time limits and how parents feel at the time (tolerance level).

Lynn and Gerry do have their differences when it comes to child rearing. Lynn tends to go overboard in giving presents at Christmas and on birthdays. Gerry thinks the children shouldn't be spoiled or taken out too often. The Wilsons' disciplinary tactics are often in conflict. They differ about what to discipline for and how to handle situations. They don't feel that they need a united front. They tend to interfere when the other is disciplining. Lynn has noted that the children sometimes feel responsible for conflicts over discipline.

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[1] Examples of disciplinary action in hypothetical child rearing situations are found in Appendix II .

Lynn does not agree with the way her parents raised her. She feels that she will always disagree with her mother. Mrs. Collins is strict about toilet training. She believes that a child should eat everything on his plate. They have a different idea of what a child is like. Mrs. Collins feels that children destroy, so she is very punitive.

While Lynn disagrees with some of her mother's ideas, she sometimes uses the methods her mother employed. Lynn has been particularly aware of it in the past four years and when she recognizes what she's doing she tries to stop. For example there have been times when she has taken her frustration with her husband out on her children. She feels that this is unfair. Lynn relates her difficulty in discipline to the confusion in the Collins household in that area.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Sex-typing makes Lynn uncomfortable because it forces people to act a certain way. While it does increase predicitibility, it makes human relationships difficult. She sees sex role stereotypes as a baseline from which individuals can evolve and grow. As an alternative for her children, Lynn proposes a range of choices of different ways to express ones maleness or femaleness .

With respect to sex roles, Lynn raises her children in a different manner than some neighbors. She will hire a boy babysitter while some neighbors won't. One neighbor would bring presents for Paul just because he was a boy and she liked boys.

Lynn reports that she does stereotype her children. Sometimes it works in reverse. As an illustration, Lynn admires her sons' tree climbing ability but becomes more excited when her daughters do the same thing. This points out a difference. While she tries to avoid it, Lynn feels that she may be unaware of the sex-typing she does. She noted that sex-typing depends in part on the child's perception. Debbie has pointed out that Paul does not help with the dishes and Lynn doesn't know if Debbie perceives his not helping as an age difference or a sex difference.

Lynn considers what she does with or says to the children in order to avoid sex-typing them, but she isn't particularly careful about it. "I pretty well say the kinds of things I want to say." Lynn does comment on stereotyping in the community and her children are aware of her feelings. She also tries to avoid having certain expectations for boys and others for girls. She has been tempted to say to her daughters "If your brothers can keep their room tidy..." but she feels that it would only create bad feelings.[1]

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[1] Detailed reporting of how Lynn would handle hypothetical CR situations regarding sex-typing are found in Appendix II.

The Wilson children do sex-type. The older girls are surprised to see a boy cry although it has occured at home and that's acceptable. The sons feel that some toys are for girls and others for boys. They have also sex-typed their mother. "Mommies aren't supposed to fix cars". The people in the stories they write are stereotypic. Lynn feels that the children pick up these stereotypes from their parents, neighbors, siblings, school, TV and stories.

Lynn's older daughters are very comfortable with sex role stereotypes. They like to know that things are predictible. This may be the other children's reaction in the future. Lynn is uncertain.

As her children get older, Lynn feels that it is less important to continue directing them. However, she feels that her influence increases as the children get older and are more capable of examining and understanding what the parents say. According to Lynn, the best way of helping children counteract stereotypes is to struggle with them yourself. This may affect those around you. "If I can't handle it, how can I expect my kids to handle it."

Lynn has not consciously tried to influence other parents. She feels that if they are happy the way they are, then they should be left alone. It's only helpful to assist change if parents want to change.

CASE 4: PAT SMITH

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Pat Smith was born in Australia 34 years ago. She has been married and living in Canada for 9 years. The Smiths have two children: Janet (7 years) and Carl (4 years). Pat has partial matriculation. She worked full time as a secretary before marriage. Since being married, Pat has done a little temporary work. One year ago she returned to full time work as a secretary.

David Smith is completing a graduate degree. Previously he was a high school principal. Their present annual income is approximately $6,000. Neither attends church although they believe in religious fundamentals.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

In her childhood, Pat lived with both parents, an older brother and sister, and a younger brother and sister in a metropolitan area. Neither parent had completed more than Grade Nine in school. While Mr. Johnson said he was an atheist, Mrs. Johnson was quite religious.

Mrs. Johnson's role in the family centred on housework and child care. She worked in a factory periodically when the children were school age to supplement the income. Mr. Johnson's main duty was earning the family income as a builder. Pat describes her parents as traditional in terms of roles and beliefs.

As a child, Pat helped her mother with the housework and ran errands. The children kept their rooms tidy. Very little was done with the father. Pat recalls family outings to the beach but little else was done with parents in the way of recreation. As a child Pat enjoyed talking with her mother but preferred to avoid her father. She feels that it was an atypical family situation.

There was some sex-typing in the Johnson home. For example, the girls did more housework and the boys did more outside work, but Pat never felt that she was discriminated against by her parents. She felt more restrictions were set by society.

Pat's childhood was not happy. Her relationship with her parents was remote. Pat loved and trusted her mother but she had an actively negative relationship with her father. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson now live in Australia and they have never visited Canada. Since being married and having children, Pat feels closer to her mother because of many shared experiences.

The Jonson's marital relationship definitely affected Pat. There was a lot of conflict and this made her insecure and anxious. Pat feels she had little or no impact on her father but that she had some influence on her mother.

As a youngster, Pat enjoyed doing things on her own. While there was quite a bit of freedom, rules were created as events occurred. Some of the rules included: don't stay out too late, and don't talk to strangers. These applied to all five children. The controls were not strictly enforced.

Generally Mrs. Johnson was the main disciplinarian. Her discipline consisted of shouting and being emotional. If the misbehavior was severe, she would give the strap. Occasionally Pat's father would use physical discipline but she saw it as a means of venting frustration.

Pat felt there was always a discrepancy in what her father said and what he did. On the other hand, Mrs. Johnson tried to live up to her principles but sometimes pressures forced a discrepancy. Pat's memory and her parents' recall of her childhood are different. The Johnson's have forgotten or blocked out the "bad times", "which is probably the best thing to do".

Pat noted three major factors that influenced her present philosophy of life: her view of things lacking in her childhood, her husband, and the consciousness raising group. Her mother's values of honesty, morality and kindness were learned and have proved to be significant for Pat's life style. Pat shares some goals with her mother, but generally she feels that her goals are less materialistic than her parent's. The Johnson's do seem to be becoming more liberal as they grow older.

MARITAL ROLES

When first married, the Smith's division of labor was traditional with David working outside the home and Pat caring for the home. This situation has changed. Pat attributes a lot of the change to her husband's positive attitude toward sharing. When Janet and Carl were born, David started helping with housework since Pat couldn't get it all done. All along he helped care for the children when he was home. When David returned to University he worked long hours and didn't have as much time for sharing home duties. Another experience that modified the division of labor was Pat's return to work. She relinquished more of the chores that she had considered hers. Now task assignment is flexible according to who has time. While Pat and David don't necessarily do the same things at home, either is capable of any family task. With returning to work, Pat also found that she and David discuss money and bills more often since she contributes some income.

Pat feels the present division of labor is exceptionally good. However it may change when her husband returns to work. Pat would not like to literally change roles with her husband. She would prefer that they both have jobs that are recognized as valuable and that have flexible hours so both could have work and home lives. She anticipates going to University when David completes his degree.

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

Before joining a group, Pat had read about consciousness-raising in magazines. In addition, David's involvement in an encounter group exposed her to some of the literature in that area. Pat learned about and gained access to a CR group from another meeting she attended. It appealed to her because she felt inhibited and unconsciously hoped it would help her. Also she wanted to get to know people.

Pat joined CR Group A two years ago. She still attends. The topics that Pat has found most interesting are the personal ones - sharing of backgrounds, feelings and other personal information.

In the group atmosphere Pat did develop some skills and change some attitudes. A skill that Pat felt was particularly valuable was learning to listen to other people. She also felt it was important to understand others in a non-superficial way. Self acceptance went hand in hand with acceptance by the group members who knew her weaknesses as well as strengths. Pat's attitudes about herself changed. She stopped apologizing for being herself, was more aggressive about her ambitions, and felt less guilty about her feelings. The group also supported some of the values that Pat held, for example the importance of love and being expressive.

When she began attending the group, Pat would discuss the general topics with David. Confidences were never revealed. After a while she spoke more with other group members than with her husband about topics arising out of the group. The group provided an outlet or communication channel other than her husband for expressing herself. Now Pat selects the things she feels David might be interested in to discuss with him. David was enthusiastic about Pat joining the group. She feels she talks less to her husband about the group now.

David noticed a change in Pat after her participation in the CR group. He felt that she was more confident and self-assured, more independent in her thinking. This took some adjusting to at first because Pat was quite aggresive. Being in the CR group helped change Pat's pattern of thinking that her husband was right whenever they had a difference. Since the CR group provided a close communication channel, Pat felt less dependent on David and her resentment of being dependent decreased. She feels that this made her more relaxed with her husband.

Pat also thinks that the personal changes taking place in the CR group filtered down to her relationship with her children. Mother-child interaction became less intense and more spontaneous. Pat now plays and talks with her children more often. She feels more adequate as a mother now and is less concerned with providing a perfect childhood. Pat feels she is more objective in that she doesn't blame herself for her children's misbehavior. Sharing child rearing experiences in the group pointed out that other mothers had the same doubts and problems Pat had. It also prepared her to deal more realistically with certain stages in Janet and Carl's development.

Pat has talked very little about the group with other people. She has sometimes talked with University friends but not to people at work. The former seemed somewhat envious and wanted to join the group. Some of her more conservative friends were apprehensive about her joining the CR group. At work, Pat felt that most of the people did not share her attitudes and she rarely discussed her group activities because she didn't want to be considered different. Consciousness-raising has influenced her present relationship with others. She is more able to relax and listen to others. Pat has never told her parents that she belongs to a CR group.

Pat like other CR group members feels very positive about the Women's Movement. She feels that the central issues are equal pay, day care and job discrimination.

CHILD REARING

Pat sees the mother's role and the father's role as incorporating similar types of behaviors. While both parents share responsibilities, Pat feels the mother has more affinity for the child during infancy because of their physical bond during pregnancy. The relationship with the father grows. Parental responsibilities are to love and respect the child, to safeguard the child, and to teach the child self discipline.

According to Pat, being able to create a child and having a hand in its destiny is for most people a natural, but not necessary part of marriage. Both of the Smith children were planned. At the birth of their first child, Pat became very emotional and wanted to give her daughter the childhood she had never had. She was more relaxed at the birth of her son.

Pat's philosophy of child rearing stresses a positive attitude to the child. It is based on love an approval. A primary influence has been Neill's book, Summerhill. Although Pat read a lot of books during her first pregnancy, she found that she follows instinct in real life situations. She has admired other parents' behavior and tries to develop a similar approach to child rearing. Her philosophy of child rearing also draws on the negative reactions she had to her own childhood.

At home the children are not required to help their parents. Sometimes they will assist Pat with making beds or folding laundry. Occasionally they will help David clean the car. Family outings include skating, picnics, tobogganing and going on walks. Pat most enjoys the activities the family does together.

David tends to take Janet out more frequently than Carl. Father and daughter enjoy biking together. Pat on the other hand feels more comfortable with Carl than Janet. She plays more with him while her husband plays with their daughter. Pat is self conscious about playing rough and tumble with her daughter. However, she tries not to differentiate between her son and daughter when they talk about attitudes and ideas.

Pat feels that the repercussions of marital interaction increase when children are present. The children can be affected negatively and positively. Janet is particularly sensitive to upsets. But if Pat and David are happy the children "thrive" and this reinforces her philosophy of child rearing.

While Pat influences the children, she also feels they influence her. She is less self centred and more careful about considering the consequences of her behavior because of the children. Also interacting with Janet sometimes helps her remember good things from her own childhood. David is also influenced by the children. He worries more about money and the future than before. He is frustrated at times by decreased freedom.

Pat believes that a lot of freedom is desirable as long as the behavior is not destructive. Limits are set so the children are aware of limitations and know that someone is guiding them. Pat feels very strongly about instilling a respect for other people and their possessions. This is reflected in some of the rules. They include: do not sneer or talk in a derogatory manner, don't deface books, respect other people's property, go to bed when called and don't play in bed, be very careful on the road and near cars.

The type of discipline varies with the kind of rule being broken. If a safety rule is broken and the consequences could have been serious, then the child is spanked. Pat feels that she and David react this way because they are frightened. Generally they use spanking rarely and only as a last resort when they are afraid or angry. Pat oftens shouts but she would prefer to be able to talk it out with her children.[1]

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[1] Examples of her discipline are reported in Appendix II .

She has found that it is effective to send her children to their room, i.e. when they are disruptive at supper.

Janet and Carl help make some decisions at home. They may suggest going to a movie or the library as a family outing. Janet asks for certain clothes and is allowed to choose some of her clothes, i.e. shoes. Their requests and preferences are taken into account when shopping for toys and groceries. The choices the children have to select from are limited for financial reasons and also because Pat feels it isn't good for them to have too much.

Generally Pat and David agree about child rearing practices. Pat tends to be more lax about table manners and if David is absent their meals are more casual. The Smiths also disagree when one of them is under stress and takes it out on the children. They prefer to discuss their disagreements when the children aren't present.

Pat does not agree with her parents' method of raising children. She disagrees mainly because of the negative feelings she had while she was growing up. Some of the specifics that she is opposed to are: discipline by shouting and storming, lack of respect for the child as an individual, taking out frustrations on the child verbally and nonverbally, and lack of demonstrative affection.

While Pat disagrees with these tactics, she finds that she sometimes involuntarily acts the way her parents did. This occurs when she reacts very quickly without thinking ahead of time. One method that Pat has noted is shouting to get rid of frustrations. She often realizes how she is behaving at the time and the ease with which it is stopped depends on the situation.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Pat feels that sex-typing is inappropriate because it restricts the child's perspective and can create guilt feelings about doing certain things. A practical alternative would be keeping all options open and letting children know that they have choices. With respect to sex role, Pat doesn't feel that she raises her children any differently than her neighbors do. However, she pointed out that they are a group that are aware of guarding against role stereotypes.

Pat doesn't feel that she sex-types her children, even unintentionally. "I think I really guard against that constantly. It's something that I feel very strongly about." Pat is prepared to deal with sex-typing situations. The strategies she uses include: counteracting influences that her children bring home, commenting on books and TV, describing both children with the same adjectives when appropriate, i.e. cute, and allowing both children to play with any toys.[1]

Although Pat wishes they wouldn't, both Janet and Carl do sex-type. Janet feels differently about boys and girls in her class and neighborhood. She was surprised that boys giggle. She also feels that her brother plays rough because he is a boy. Carl sex-types too. He plays only with the boys in the neighborhood even though there are girls his age. They play very typical "boy" games such as trucks. There has been at least one incidence of excluding a girl from a boys' play group.

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[1] Examples of her handling of sex-typing situations are reported in Appendix II .

Pat notes that her children behave in ways similar to the boy and girl stereotypes. She wonders if it is a product of conditioning or instinct. She feels that they don't pick up the sex-typing at home. However, some sources of sex-typing are other children, television and books. School and day care don't necessarily sex-type but some of the teachers are very traditional.

Pat feels that her children will be swayed by traditional thinking particularly during adolescence. She is optimistic that their upbringing will help them be autonomous and able to make a choice. If nothing is done before adolescence, Pat feels that little can be started at that time because of peer pressure. She feels that she and David can continue to influence their children's thinking about sex roles by setting an example and talking with them.

Pat tries to help other parents become more aware of sex role stereotyping. She will initiate the discussion. Both Pat and David tend to be aggressive in this are. They feel that showing parents what they are doing will increase their awareness which is the 1st step in change.

CASE 5: DIANE MARTIN

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Diane Martin was born in Canada 30 years ago. The Martins have been married for 10 years and they have two children: Kathy (4 years) and Tom (6 years). Tom is adopted. Diane went to secretarial college after completing high school. She worked full time as a typist before marriage and for three years after marriage. Since having children she has worked outside the home very temporarily (about 3 months) on a part-time basis. Presently Diane performs secretarial and management duties at home for a company that the Martins own.

Bruce Martin studied for a diploma in business administration after completing high school. He now owns and manages two businesses. Their family income before taxes is approximately $20,000. Diane and Bruce are Protestant but they never attend church. Diane feels that she is moderately religious and her husband is less religious.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

In her childhood, Diane lived with both parents, an older sister and a younger sister and brother in a large Canadian city. Diane does not know the extent of her parents' education. Both Mr. and Mrs. Donaldson did attend high school. They were both Protestant but they never attended church. Mr. Donaldson was not religious but his wife was moderately so.

When Diane was a child her mother was responsible for the home. Although she worked as a salesclerk before the children were born, she has not worked outside the home since. Diane's father was the family breadwinner. He was self-employed as the supplier of electronic equipment. Diane described her parents' family roles as "strictly the stereotype". She felt that they were traditional.

The children were not expected to do much work in the home. Generally Mrs. Donaldson took care of everything. The focal point of family recreation outside the home was the "family picnic". Sometimes Mrs. Donaldson would take the children to shows and the Exhibition. Mr. Donaldson did little with his children on his own.

Diane feels that her family life as a child was very good. She had a good relationship with her parents, although in retrospect she would have preferred more frank discussions. The Donaldson's do not live in the same city as the Martins but they do stay with their daughter for approximately 4 months out of every year. Diane's relationship with her parents continues to be good partly because they refuse to interfere.

The Donaldson's marital relationship affected Diane in that she felt she was growing up a in a warm, secure home. Diane felt that she influenced her parents somewhat as a child. She still has a little influence.

Diane noticed a difference in what her brother and sister were allowed to do when compared to her but this was based on their younger age not sex. She felt that they were given more freedom. Diane was independent and was given a lot of freedom. There were few rules about what could and couldn't be done. The rules seemed to be unspoken. "I don't know how my mother did it ... she knew she expected a lot from us and it was up to us that if we wanted to keep enjoying the privileges and freedom - don't abuse them."

Diane found it hard to recall disciplinary techniques because the discipline was subtle and infrequent. Diane described one of her mother's methods as "the look". Mrs. Donaldson set a lot of expectations and the children felt guilty if they misbehaved.

Diane's upbringing is significant to her present philosophy of life. Her parents' granting of decision making power to the children was particularly important as it developed her self-confidence. In the last three years the Consciousness raising group has reinforced and enhanced this self confidence. Diane feels that her goals are different from her parents. She is more concerned with personal growth than her parents. They like to stay home while she enjoys participating in activities outside the home.

MARITAL ROLES

When first married, Diane earned the income and performed most of the household tasks. She also did the budgeting. Bruce was going to school and occasionally helped with housework. When both Bruce and Diane were working, he did some housework. After the children were born he helped a lot. But now that he is self employed Bruce has little time to help around the house. Diane does all the housework and Bruce earns the income.

Diane is satisfied with the present division of labor in that she feels it is fair. If her husband's working hours decreased, she would like to see him help more in the house. But she feels that he would probably suggest hiring a housekeeper rather than doing the work himself.

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

Diane Martin decided to join a CR group because she had talked to a friend who was in a group and was interested in it. She felt that the women in the group were like her. Diane has been attending Group C's meetings regularly every other week for three years.

No one topic is of most interest to Diane. "It's a whole broad thing of finding myself really, of giving me confidence ... " Indeed, the most valuable benefit to Diane has been a gain in self confidence. Learning about feelings and an individual's influence on other's feelings is also important to her.

Diane believes her personal changes were individual efforts that were supported by the CR group. The group never attempted to force change. Diane feels that participating in the group has changed or clarified her attitudes tremendously. "I would say changed - but sometimes I wonder if they just brought out how I was feeling underneath because I remember thinking 'how great to find some people that feel like I do'."

Diane never discusses personalities in the group with anyone outside the group. She has discussed a few topics with her husband such as equal pay, rights of women and day care. One topic that she tries to subtly introduce quite often is the meaning of feelings. She feels that this would benefit her husband. Although Bruce never discouraged Diane from attending, she feels that he was threatened when she joined the group. This threat has subsided but now he is pressured somewhat by some men who know that Diane is in the group. "How can you allow your wife to do this - look at what she's doing".

The CR experience has influenced the Martins' marital relationship. Bruce now realizes that Diane is an independent person and he has more respect for her. In discussing business, he considers her opinions more seriously. Diane feels that Bruce has changed in response to her changes. In addition, she sees him in a different perspective because she is more aware of people, their feelings and motives now. Diane is pleased about the change in their relationship and she feels that Bruce is too. She did mention however that he might prefer it if she were more dependent although he might not treat her any differently.

Diane feels that the personal change facilitated by the group has influenced her relationship with her children. She is more aware of their feelings and her influence on them particularly in terms of self confidence. She thinks that she is more considerate of the children's feelings and she tries to understand them more. Diane is pleased with the way she is now relating to her children. She feels that they are too young to have noticed any difference in their interaction.

Diane used to discuss some of the CR group topics with friends outside the group, but she found that they became defensive. So now she doesn't bother. Being in the CR group has detracted from some of the Martins' social relationships. This is most noticeable in those friends who feel threatened. "I don't have to say one word, but my presence affects them." Mr. Donaldson has a very negative attitude towards the group and Mrs. Donaldson remains uncommitted. Diane's father will not talk about the group but she has discussed a few topics with her mother.

Diane is very positive about the Women's Movement. "I'm glad there's such a thing. It's going to make a difference to me in how I bring up my daughter and my son. It's a good thing. I believe it's like a people movement ... I think it's benefitted my husband." For Diane the central issue is the opportunity for the individual to choose. "What about me? I am a person. If I'm going to be extremely happy being at home, let me be at home. If I'm going to be extremely happy working, let me be."

CHILD REARING

Diane feels that society defines the maternal roles as being responsible for children while the father's role is supplying the income. According to Diane the most desirable situation is parenthood as a shared role. She feels that if one parent does not work, he or she should be mainly responsible for child care. If both parents are employed they should share the responsibility. Their main responsibility is "making children feel good about themselves".

Diane sees children as a natural part of a family, but not a necessary part of a marriage relationship. She wishes that having children was a choice but she sees it is a social expectation accompanied by pressure. The Smiths both wanted children and it was a mutual decision. Diane found that having children was the biggest change in her life. A major change was limited mobility. Diane indicated that there was no change in her marital relationship.

Diane's philosophy of child rearing is based on treating her children as people and being aware of their feelings. She wants her children to be happy, self accepting, self sufficient and able to relate to others. She also hopes that Kathy and Tom will do as well as they can in whatever they choose.

A main source of information about child rearing is Dreikurs' book, Children: The Challenge. The consciousness raising group also influences Diane's child rearing practice. She expects that her parents have influenced her indirectly but not through information or advice giving.

Diane takes both Kathy and Tom on walks in the park and drives. She feels that the same activities for both is appropriate at their age. She enjoys family outings to the park or swimming pool. However, she recognizes that her children do have individual needs. Bruce provides more for these needs in terms of taking either one or the other out. Diane tries to do individual talking and cuddling.

Kathy and Tom do help Diane with the housework. They do things like picking up toys, carrying laundry and taking out light garbage. They aren't required to do anything yet because they are young. Diane would like them to clean their own rooms but this rule is not enforced as they are still young. At home the children don't help their father do anything because he doesn't do much.

Diane and Bruce's interaction affects the children. If there is marital conflict, Tom and Kathy stand closer together and seek body contact from each other. Similarly, a happy atmosphere is also picked up by the children. The parents seem to set the tone for the children.

Diane feels that the children influence what she chooses to do little now but this may increase as the children get older. For example, she anticipates that they may ask her to dress a certain way for home and school meetings and she will consider their request. She feels that they have even less influence on their father's decisions. Both do try to avoid swearing around the children. Their marriage is affected in terms of time and energy resources. Sometimes the parents may have to give up doing things for themselves in order to do things with the children.

The children are given a lot of freedom within limits. The limits are set for safety and according to the individual's readiness. Some of the rules are: no bikes on the road; if you fight, nothing in your hands; no hassle at bed time; and no dessert if the meal isn't eaten (not strictly enforced). Discipline tends to be rule dependent. The more important rules, generally the safety ones, are more strictly enforced. If misbehavior continues the child is either sent to his room or privileges are withdrawn. Sometimes Diane will holler.[1] Bruce's discipline consists of giving the child a number of chances and then spanking.

Diane tends to use different disciplinary techniques for her son and daughter. Tom is usually sent to his room. Kathy usually gets yelled at. Because of their different personalities these different types of discipline tend to be most effective for the individuals involved. Also the children tend to get into different kinds of trouble. Kathy's misbehavior tends to be less serious and infrequent. Diane reflected that their misbehaviors may be due to their age and the playmates they have.

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[1] Diane's discipline is illustrated in Appendix II .

Diane lets Tom and Kathy choose the food they want to eat from a number of alternatives. The limits are set in terms of money and convenience. While in kindergarten, Tom requested certain types of clothing and Diane took him shopping to select them. Both children decide what they will wear every morning and dress themselves. Only if the choice is very impractical will Diane interfere. The Martins purchase the toys that the children have requested unless they are very expensive. They only buy toys for birthdays or Christmas.

Diane and her husband generally agree about child rearing practices. She feels this is because "he leaves 90% of it up to me. He sees it as my responsibility". Bruce tends to be stricter and Diane criticizes him but generally not in front of the children.

Diane and her parents disagree about some child rearing measures but this is not expressed verbally. The Donaldsons do not interfere. Diane feels that she is less permissive than her mother and can not tolerate as much misbehavior. She sees this is a basic personality difference. Diane tends to be more impatient in dealing with situations, like her father is. Diane thinks that she talks with her children more often and more openly than her mother spoke with her.

When her children get older, Diane feels that she will be more liberal in child rearing than her friends and neighbors will be. For example, if her daughter wanted to enter a medical field she would not push her into being a nurse, while she feels her neighbors would. She also hopes to raise her son to be aware of feelings.

Diane feels that there definitely is a discrepancy between what she does and what she would like to do. Her reaction depends on how she feels. For example, if she is angry and upset, she will discipline more readily and yell unfairly. Quite often she realizes the discrepancy at the time it occurs. Diane also feels guilty about choosing not to do some things that she feels she should do. For example, she does not enjoy reading stories and gets bored playing with her children.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Diane feels that an alternative to sex-typing is allowing individuals to select their own goals. In this regard she feels that she is more liberal than her friends and neighbors. She is certainly different from her parents who had different expectations for their daughters and son in terms of school work and career plans.

While she doesn't like it, Diane finds that she sex-types her children. It is evident in some of the things she asks them to do around the home, although she doesn't realize it until later. Sometimes Diane feels that she is more protective of her daughter, partly because of her personality and partly because she is a girl. Diane also suspects that she may have different expectations for her children. For example, she might be more upset if her son dropped out of school than if her daughter did.

To avoid stereotyping Diane has to be very aware of what she's doing. She has developed some strategies. She now asks both children to do the same things at home such as clearing the table. In talking games, each child play a variety of roles - her son may be the nurse and her daughter the doctor. Diane also comments on sex-typing that the children bring home.[1]

Both Kathy and Tom sex-type. They say "Girls don't do..." and "Boys don't do...". When they were younger they played in mixed groups. Now Kathy plays with the girls and Tom plays with the boys. Diane feels that her children get stereotyped ideas from TV, other mothers, story books and other children. She also feels that there may have been some slight sex-typing of her son at kindergarten.

In future contact with stereotypes, Diane anticipates that her children will wonder about what she has said because it will probably contradict their peers. She feels that her influence on the children will decrease as the children get older.

Diane used to try to speak to others about sex-typing, but now she doesn't because it may disrupt someone's family life. Only if a friend brings it up and is open and the friend's spouse can accept some change will Diane discuss it. While she feels that people who are motivated to change can be assisted, Diane doesn't want that responsibility.

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[1] Examples are shown in Appendix II .

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

A. Demographic Information

Of the five women interviewed, three were born in Canada. The two other women were born in Australia. Age ranged from 28 to 34 years. Length of marriage varied with the mode at 9 years. All but one respondent had two children under the age of seven years. Four of the women and all the husbands had some post-secondary education. The one woman who had not completed high school intended to pursue further education in the future. In those families where the husbands were employed, income was between $15,000 and $20,000. The two student families had lower incomes ($4000 - $6000) but the wives noted that this was a temporary situation. All the women worked at sometime in their life although these work histories fluctuated after marriage and the birth of their children.

In some respects the sample resembled Henshel's (1973) description of the socio-economic characteristics of Women's Movement members. They were middle class women who were relatively well educated. Most had two children. Their husbands were relatively well educated. The major difference was their present work status. Three of the women were full-time housewives. Most feminists are employed in some other capacity.

B. Childhood Background

All respondents lived with both parents in urban areas. Family size varied. Parental roles tended to be traditional with mothers responsible for housework and child care, and fathers working outside the home. While family activities centred on recreation, different things were done with the mother and the father. For example, talking with mothers and active play with the fathers. There was a similar differentiation of family chores. The respondents helped their mothers with housework and worked outdoors with their fathers. All but one felt that there had been sex-typing by parents to some extent in their childhood. All but one felt they were independent children.

Using Becker's (1964)[1] model for parental behavior, most of the respondents' fathers seemed to display democratic behavior. One father could be classified as neglecting. The mothers' behavior varied. While some were democratic, others appeared somewhat indulgent or overprotective. Disciplinary techniques often included withdrawal of privileges. Mothers were judged more emotional in their relationships with the children than fathers.

While parents had instilled some values significant to the respondents' philosophies of life, childhood experiences were not the only influence on present ways of thinking. Indeed, the women indicated that experiences after leaving home were of greater importance. Two women stated that their negative reaction to childhood experiences shaped their philosophies of life.

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[1] Becker proposed three dimensions in parent-child interaction: 1) permissiveness vs. restrictiveness, 2) warmth vs. hostility, and 3) calm detachment vs. anxious emotional involvement.

C. Marital Roles

While the women expressed equalitarian attitudes, three of the five displayed traditional task assignment in their marriages. The other two women appeared to have an equalitarian division of labor. They contributed to the family income, and household tasks were distributed on the basis of time and convenience. It should be noted that these patterns were in effect for one year or less, and that traditional patterns were prevalent before. All women mentioned that having children influenced the marital division of labor in that the wife stopped working and/or the husband shared more of the household tasks. For the sample, it appears that marital task assignment has developed over time in response to family events.

D. Consciousness-Raising

All five women joined CR groups because of personal interest. They were either original members or had been introduced by a friend in the group. Length of attendance varied between less than one to three years. Three respondents were currently attending CR sessions. The other two had belonged to a group that had disbanded.

The specific meaning of the CR experience to the individual did vary as a function of the individual's needs, expectations, and personality. Generally the effect of the group centered on personal growth and interpersonal support. The participants described one of the valuable parts of the experience as self awareness and self acceptance. Two women mentioned that it changed their attitudes to themselves and their potential. Others said, "I've learned how to recognize my feelings", "This experience has made me understand other women better and understand myself better too" and "The CR group was the beginning of awareness. I've done a lot of things since then in order to pursue the kind of things that were happening there".

The atmosphere of acceptance and trust usually found in the CR groups facilitated communication and sharing of personal experiences. This sharing resulted in a close relationship and perception of similarity. "I remember thinking how great it was to find people who thought the same way I did." This feeling of similarity of group members was accompanied by the perception that group members were different from other friends and neighbors. The support offered by the group extended beyond acceptance of attitudes and expressed feelings. Individual decisions to change were also supported.

The impact of the group experience extended to interpersonal relationships outside the group. The unit outside the consciousness-raising group that was most directly influenced was the family. Since the family is a system of interrelated and interacting personalities, it follows that change in one family member may influence the rest of the family. All the women perceived that their marital relationship had improved to some extent since she joined the CR group. All but one of the women felt that mother-child interaction was affected by the consciousness-raising experience. They saw the change in relating to their children as a function of their own personal change. As one mother put it: "If I am changing and seeing things differently and perceiving things faster and getting more in touch with myself, I tend to be more in touch with my children."

The type of changes that occurred in mother-child interaction included being more sensitive to children's feelings and being more relaxed and natural with children. One mother felt more adequate as a mother and less anxious about trying to give her children a perfect childhood than she had felt before the group. The group did help some women overcome guilt feelings associated with motherhood for both those women who felt guilty about not going to work and those who felt guilty about going to work.

While none of the women described their CR group as directly affiliated with the Women's Liberation Movement, all held the Movement in positive regard. Two themes were dominant in the definition of the Movement: the equality of men and women, and the increased choices in role behavior for men and women.

E. Child Rearing

All the women preferred to view mothers and fathers as nurturing persons sharing a parental role. Two women did express the belief that the father only became important after early infancy. The philosophy of child rearing of this group of mothers emphasized the development of self concept in their children. The goal of raising the child to be happy with himself was mentioned a number of times. The role of the parent was seen as providing inputs and responding to individual needs, not shaping the child into being a particular type of person in line with expectations. This philosophy coincides with Bigner's (1972) finding that recent child rearing advice encourages parents to raise their children as individuals not conformists. The consistently noted source of child rearing information was books. This lends support to Winch's (1963) contention that mass media has replaced the grandmother as a child rearing resource.

Family activities of the respondents centred on recreation. The sex of the parent seemed to effect the frequency and type of activity that parent and child shared. It should be noted that parents did do some of the same activities, i.e. reading stories, taking on outings. The mothers all felt that they treated their children differently in response to individual needs.

Generally, the mothers' child rearing styles reflected democratic interaction. Using Becker's (1964) paradigm, they tended to be warm (versus hostile), permissive (versus restrictive) and calm (versus anxious emotional involvement). While they believed in quite a bit of freedom for their children and extended them some decision making power, all the mothers believed in setting some limits.

The stated disciplinary techniques usually involved reasoning or logical consequences. Other methods mentioned were spanking, sending the child to his room, and withdrawing privileges. Inspection of behaviorial intentions revealed that discipline did vary with the situation being considered.

Behavioral intentions were also examined for adaptability following Tallman's (1961)[1] criteria and for power assertion using Hoffman's (1960)[2] definition. The behavioral intentions generally demonstrated adaptability, particularly in terms of motivation to influence the child and flexibility in responding to the child. Techniques not involving power assertion were often indicated. In these instances the child was given a choice of complying or not. This technique was consistently selected in the sex-typing situations. Mothers were more likely to intend to assert their power in situations involving aggressive behaviors that were not justified. Generally, power assertion was qualified.

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[1] Tallman conceptualized adaptability as a combination of motivation, empathy and flexibility.

[2] Hoffman designated 3 categories of power assertion: 1) unqualified power assertion such as commands, threats, physical force; 2) power assertion qualified by explanation or compensatory gratification; 3) no power assertion where child is given the choice of complying.

The women felt that usually they and their husbands agreed about child rearing. Three women noted discrepancies in terms of the husband being perceived as less permissive.

In comparison with their mothers, all except one respondent felt that they were more permissive. This trend was evident in attitudes to eating behaviors and toilet training. The increase in permissiveness was explained as the general trend in child rearing and a different outlook on children. While their mothers stressed conformity, the four respondents emphasized individuality. This greater permissiveness as a secular trend in child rearing has been documented by Bronfenbrenner (1966). The one respondent who felt she was less permissive than her mother felt that it was a personality difference. The respondents attempted to avoid behaving like their mothers in the methods they evaluated negatively. Their intention was not always borne out in practice.

F. Sex Role Socialization

One area of child rearing of special interest in this study was sex role socialization practices. All of the mothers were motivated to promote sex role flexibility, and avoid sex role stereotyping that most of them had experienced in their own childhood. However, despite their intentions many women felt that they did sex-type their children although usually they realized it only in retrospect. They mentioned sex-typing by assigning their children different tasks to do at home, for example, having daughters help with dishes while the sons at the same age did not. One woman mentioned that she points out differences between the sexes, not by disallowing certain activities for her daughter but by over emphasizing her behavior when it was non-traditional. For example, she felt that when her son climbed a tree or learned to ride a bike she admired his skill, but when his twin sister did the same things she became more excited.

Concern was expressed about the ambiguity between actual and socially created sex differences. Some of the mothers described their children as being very similar to the stereotypic view of what a boy or a girl is like. They tended to see the stereotypic characteristics as expressions of personality and not the result of differential treatment. The mothers were not motivated to change their child's behavior or traits if they conformed to the stereotype because of respect for the child's individuality. All believed that some types of sex differences do exist.

One technique that mothers did employ in sex role socialization was commenting on sex-typing inputs from their children, other children, books, TV and the other sources. There appears to be a difference in reaction depending on the source of the sex-typing. If the respondents' children sex-typed on activity, all of the women would comment. If other children sex-typed at the respondents' homes, then the women would consider speaking to the other children. If the sex-typing occurred outside the confines of the family home, the mothers would not comment. This observation is consistent with four of the mothers' statements that they are not trying to change how other people behave.

Four mothers felt that their children sex-typed activities and objects. One of the four noted that her children sex-typed less often than other children. She felt her children only used sex-typing as a form of excluding an individual, not all members of one sex. The one mother who said that her child did not sex-type felt that he probably would as he got older. The most common sources of sex-typing that the mothers identified were other children, TV and books.

DISCUSSION

The preservation of certain values and norms from one generation to the next depends on the effective transmission of those values and norms. Farber (1964) has suggested four factors that promote the "orderly replacement" of parental beliefs. First, close identification and emotional attachment in the parent-child relationship facilitates transmission of parental values. Second when the norms and values being transmitted are supported by other societal systems, socialization by the family is supported. Third, if rules governing family life are simple and non-conflicting, then socialization is more effective. Fourth, the slow turnover in family members favors orderly replacement.

Through examining these factors in the respondents' childhoods, it appears that four women (Harris, Wilson, Smith, Martin) were not well socialized to traditional sex role norms. The discontinuity of values was expressed in the perceived difference between the respondents' and his parents goals in life. One instance of particularly ineffective socialization was Pat Smith's childhood. The parent-child relationship was remote. It was particularly negative with the father. The relatively few activities involving the parents, and the large family size reduced the amount of individual interaction with parents. Pat noted that there were discrepancies in her parents' words and actions indicating that rules were not always consistent. Since only one parent was religious not all socialization efforts would be supported by a conservative religious system.

The other three traditionally raised women were more effectively socialized than Pat Smith. However, they each mentioned at least two factors that would detract from orderly replacement. These family factors included: perception of outstanding difference from other family members indicating low identification, conflict of parents over rules, large family size, unspoken (non-specified) rules, and no church attendance.

Alice Jones, the remaining case was unusual in that she felt that she had been raised in a non-traditional value context with respect to sex roles. She stated that her parents were non-traditional and had not sex-typed their children.

Socialization could be considered effective because Alice felt that her goals and values were similar to her parents. While there were few rules governing family life, they were set and agreed upon by both parents. The church, as a traditional element, did not directly conflict with the family's non-traditional values since the Davidsons did not attend church. It appears then that one sample member was effectively influenced in a non-traditional manner in her childhood. According to Farber, the other four respondents are more likely to be different from their parents because they were not particularly well socialized to traditional standards.

All the women interviewed in this study indicated that adult experiences were of great importance to their way of thinking. While four defined their parents and their childhood background as traditional (with respect to sex roles, child rearing and philosophy of life) they felt that they themselves were non-traditional in the sense of being more liberal. It would appear that socialization agents outside the family have to be taken into account. All of the women but Alice Jones felt that the consciousness-raising experience was a major if not the primary input to her personal philosophy of life.

Using Farber's socialization dimensions, the CR group may be considered quite an effective socializer. The high level of trust and confidence indicated a strong emotional bond. While there was diversity among the CR group members, they identified themselves as similar because of shared attitudes and feelings. This similarity was assumed prior to participating in a group since it served as a motive for joining.

While some women expressed greater self acceptance, they generally did not feel that they had undergone any changes in basic attitudes or values because of group interaction. Rather, the CR group served to clarify and reinforce existing attitudes. One attitude that was shared and supported in the group was a dissatisfaction with the traditional woman's role. This role was seen as limiting because it did not offer alternatives. All the women in the sample were aware of and valued personal potential beyond the feminine stereotype. The consensus of norms and values regarding sex roles would promote effective socialization in this area. In other areas consensus was not as great. Two women stated that there was disagreement about some of the ideas expressed concerning abortion and women as an oppressed class. However these differences tended to be masked by the predominance of consensus and by the value placed on accepting others regardless of differences.

The CR group appeared to support attitudes that are not particularly prevalent in contemporary society. This was reflected in the women's reluctance to speak with neighbors about CR topics because the neighbors might feel threatened. The lack of support by traditional institutions may be counteracted in part by the positive attitudes of the women to themselves and other group members. The saliency of the CR group in terms of personal philosophy of life for four of the women may have provided support from a more non-traditional element when support from conventional sources was lacking.

Group size tended to be limited to eight or less. Personnel changes in the established groups were generally related to the mobility of the members. Within a one year span the size and composition of the groups remained fairly stable. This stability allowed for the development of close enduring relationships that are the basis of socialization. In brief, the close ties, supportive lines and consensus in values strengthened the CR experience as a socialization activity.

In the CR group, each woman functioned as socializer and socializee. As parents, the women were formally designated socialization agents. Their effectiveness in this role appears ambiguous with respect to Farber's four conditions. This ambiguity reflects in part the inability to quantify Farber's conditions and specify their relative contribution to effectiveness in socialization. First, the mothers all stated a warm relationship with their children.[1] They accepted their children as individuals. The lack of expectations that the child should identify with and duplicate the parent, however, counters the development of orderly replacement.

Second, the women perceived their child rearing techniques to be different from their own mothers. However, they felt that they followed current trends and derived their knowledge from recognized sources (books). This assumed support from peers and experts would reinforce the mothers' practices. In the area of sex role socialization, the mothers felt they were quite different from their neighbors unless the neighbors were considered non-traditional in their approach. The lack of support from the majority of peers and relative scarcity of authoritative resources on non-sexist child rearing mitigate socialization to non-traditional sex role norms. It is interesting to note that the child may act as socialization agent by reinforcing certain child rearing techniques. For example, if a child responds to a certain disciplinary technique by modifying his behavior in a desired fashion, the parent is encouraged to continue using that method.

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[1] It should be noted that a warm relationship is not necessary for socialization to occur i.e. resocialization to prison life, brainwashing. However in the family setting, positive relationships do facilitate orderly replacement.

The third condition, the cognitive factor, states that rules should be simple and non-conflicting. Those mothers who believe they should be consistent in their rules would be more effective than those mothers who were inconsistent or overtly conflicted with their husbands. Their general flexibility in handling child rearing situations could complicate the rules unless a basic underlying standard was explained to the children. In the area of sex role socialization, there was conflict in the mothers' attempts to avoid sex-typing and the occasional sex-typing that they engaged in.

The fourth factor power was met by most sample members in that Farber says power is measured by family size. All but one family had two children. The Wilson family with seven children might be less able to effectively socialize all the children. In fact, it was noted that the older children did some of the socializing of the younger ones in terms of rule setting.

The women's child rearing philosophy of permissiveness with discipline centred on "psychological" or "love-oriented" techniques such as reasoning, isolating, and showing disappointment which have been demonstrated to be effective techniques in bringing about desired behavior in children. (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Miller and Swanson, 1958) However, the emphasis on the child's individuality and future freedom to choose his own values and attitudes suggests a low concern with orderly replacement.

One respondent seemed less effective in her child rearing than other respondents. Lynn Wilson had seven children but she spent less time with them than the other mothers had expressed. She felt that her child rearing methods were unlike her mother's or her neighbor's. She tended to be inconsistent in her philosophy of child rearing and her behaviors, particularly discipline, and Lynn and her husband openly disagreed on some aspects of child rearing.

To summarize, in their childhoods four of the sample members were influenced in a traditional manner particularly with reference to sex roles. However, their family backgrounds did not provide optimal conditions for orderly replacement. The four respondents discarded some of their parents' norms and values notably those associated with sex roles. Some basic values such as honesty and positive regard for other family members have been retained. The CR group and its non-traditional norms and values was identified by these four subjects as a more potent input to their present philosophies of life than childhood experiences. The effectiveness of the mothers in transmitting the non-traditional norms and values cannot be determined using the available data. The information gathered provides conflicting ideas concerning the mothers' effectiveness as socialization agents.

POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS

The three socialization contexts described in this research are interrelated in that they share one individual. This section of the discussion will suggest possible links between the systems. The interconnections of systems that will be examined are childhood and consciousness-raising, CR and child rearing and childhood and child rearing. The remarks are speculative and serve only to delineate potential areas for future research.

In this study, the women who perceived their childhoods as oriented towards traditional values saw the CR experience as having great impact on them in terms of self awareness. The women who felt she was raised in a non-traditional atmosphere expressed the main benefit of the group in terms of a close relationship, not self discovery. The issue of perception versus reality requires further clarification. While Alice Jones perceived her childhood as non-traditional with respect to sex roles, the researcher judged that there was some sex-typing then in task distribution for children and parental role models. However, in comparison to other families this may have appeared non-traditional. It appears then that those women who feel they have been raised traditionally will experience more learning (i.e. socialization) in the CR group than those who feel they have been raised non-traditionally.

It may be suggested that those women entering a CR group have had some prior socialization experience in terms of non-traditional norms and values because CR seems to focus on support and clarification not the development of non-traditional values and norms. Prior to joining a group the women feel that they are like women in the group. The prior socialization experience may include learning that traditional roles are not completely satisfying. For example, three of the women (Harris, Wilson, Smith) felt some dissatisfaction with their role as a mother before entering the group. Exposure to media expressions of non-traditional sex role norms and values (i.e. feminist writings) may stimulate socialization to those standards.

The influence of the CR group is modified by the articulation of the CR group and the family. While most of the women felt that their husbands were threatened by the group, none of the husbands objected to their wives' attendance. It was mentioned that (in retrospect) four of the husbands seemed supportive. However, the family may not be able to adjust to CR group inputs if there is too much dissonance.

Mary Harris mentioned that the conflict of CR group norms and family roles caused some women to leave the group. What of those women who chose to remain in the group despite this conflict?

The CR experience may also be related to the parent-child subsystem of the family. All of the women in the sample felt that sex role stereotypes were inappropriate for children and they attempted to avoid sex-typing their own children. It appears that the values and norms supported in the CR group were applied to the child rearing situation. Behavior in child rearing, however did not always effectively transmit these standards. Three women noted that they continued to sex-type their children, despite their intentions. This has important implications since the values and norms a child learns are those transmitted behaviorally.

> "If our goal is to understand the determinants of childhood behavior, then we must understand the relationship between parental attitudes and parental behavior as mediating relationships between parental attitudes and child behavior. Even if the attitude is the important thing (and there is good reason to believe so), it must still be communicated behaviorally - unless we wish to commit ourselves to clairvoyance as a basic explanatory principle." (Hunt and Winokur, 1961: 176)

For those women raised traditionally, non-sexist child rearing will involve some change in the child rearing patterns learned in childhood. Goodwin (1972) has developed a model of change. The six sequential phases involved in the process are: 1) recognition of the need for change; 2) establishment of relationships for effecting the change;

3) clarification of the problem; 4) examination of alternatives and determination of goals; 5) transition from proposals to actual change procedures; and 6) achievement of terminal relationships as change becomes self-motivating. Consciousness-raising as an input to non-sexist child rearing seems to primarily operate in terms of the first phases. The discussion of the rigid nature of sex role stereotypes may motivate women to change sexist child rearing. This motivation will occur only if the women realize that sexist child rearing influences not only their personal outlook on life but also the way they raised their children. That is, the focus of the problem would have to shift from development of self to the role of self in the development of others.

CR sessions may be seen as a motivating force in the development of a non-sexist approach to child rearing. The role of the CR group in clarifying the problem of sexist child rearing and examining alternatives varied with the interests of the group. Some seemed to cover the topic more extensively than others. Child rearing was never a regular topic of the groups represented here. However when the topic was discussed, the interaction seemed to resemble a parent education group focussing on non-sexist child rearing. (Hirsch, 1974) It appeared that the problem was not clearly identified by the women in the sample. The issue of innate versus conditioned sex differences was unresolved. Those mothers who described their children as stereotypic boys and girls wondered if their traits were a manifestation of innate personality or learned behaviors.

The identified alternatives to sex-typing tended to be quite general, i.e. "raise boys and girls the same way". Specific strategies generally involved the more obvious kinds of sex-typing such as avoiding "Boys do..." and "Girls don't..." statements, and commenting on sex-typing by others, but the pervasive and subtle nature of traditional sex roles did not receive as much attention. The impact of differentiated parental role models was not recognized by all the respondents. The impact of sexist socialization agents outside the family was recognized but usually was not counteracted. All but one of the women stated that they were not "banner wavers". While they might help others examine alternatives, they were not about to approach those who were not motivated. It might be that the CR group reduced the action orientation of its members by allowing them to "talk out" their frustrations. The emphasis of the group on individual change and choice might render the group inconsequential in terms of wider spread social change.

The implementation of proposed alternatives into behavior poses some difficulties. Results of research (Brun-Gulbrandsen, 1958; Eckhoff and Gauslaa, 1960) suggest that this may be a crucial phase in the development of non-sexist child rearing. The changes in behavior were supported by the CR group, however, the group never instigated these changes. Changes were largely an individual effort. One factor that may have interfered with the development of new behaviors is the link of childhood and child rearing subsystems. The women found that while they disliked certain of their parents' child rearing practices, at times they imitated them. It appeared difficult to extinguish behaviors acquired in early childhood even when the basis for the behavior was discarded. This observation may also apply to the area of sex role socialization and sexist child rearing. Behaviors seem more difficult to modify than attitudes.

Sample members appeared to be in a process of role making. They felt traditional sex norms were inappropriate and therefore they had to improvise behavior. The CR group appears effective in the earlier stages of change than in the later phases. The CR group mainly assisted the women in that it reinforced non-traditional norms, provided motivation for change, and developed in the individuals some qualities needed for change. "The individual must possess the quality of fairly high self-esteem, flexibility, interpersonal sensitivity and some sense of controlling his own destiny in order to try behavioral improvisation." (Aldous, 1974: 232) It appears that only after values have been relatively clarified and self development has occurred will innovative, nonsexist techniques be used. This may account for the observation that those women who attended two or three years felt the CR group had definitely influenced their child rearing while those attending for less than a year saw the group as not affecting or only beginning to indirectly affect child rearing.

While the CR group may serve as a motivating force in developing a non-sexist approach to child rearing, it is not directed toward learning or changing parental behaviors. The group's non-sexist attitudes reinforce such an approach, but the development of non-sexist child rearing behaviors is largely an individual responsibility. It might be tentatively concluded that CR group membership is not necessarily linked to the practice of non-sexist child rearing behaviors. The potential of the CR group as a parent education force is untapped. Prior or subsequent experiences and value stances as well as individual initiative, may be more related than consciousness-raising to the avoidance of sex-typing.

Two women in particular felt that they raised their children in a non-sexist manner. One of them, Pat Smith, seemed ineffectively socialized to traditional norms. She described the CR group as having definite impact on her relationship with her children. This case supports Farber's contention that the lack of certain conditions in childhood socialization increases the possibility of social change. Relatively ineffective socialization in the family leaves the individual more amenable to other influences, in this case non-traditional influences.

The second woman who felt she raised her son in a non-sexist tradition was Alice Jones. She perceived her early socialization as non-traditional and it seemed to be quite effective. The impact of the CR experience on child rearing was non-existent. The second case seems to support the belief that families may introduce innovation in their socialization practices. Families are not necessarily the conservationists of tradition.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Inter-system and intra-system relationships suggested in the preceding discussion could provide interesting directions for future research. The CR experience does have an impact on the family. This warrants further investigation. What specific influence does the CR group have on child rearing, particularly sex role socialization? If the CR group influences parents, can CR techniques be applied to parent education? Does the influence of the CR experience change over time? It might be fruitful to take a longitudinal look at the process of consciousness-raising. How does the CR experience influence the marital relationship? What if the family cannot adapt to change supported in the CR group? What is the cost in family relationship terms of having one's consciousness raised? Interviews with husbands as well as wives might reveal the subtle changes which occur within the marital relationships.

The limitations of this study also suggest areas for future research. CR groups are composed of married, separated, single and divorced women. Some have children and others don't. This study only referred to those mothers who were currently married. What about the others? Does marital status influence the perceived impact of the group? If CR experience influences marital relationships, will it influence the mate selection process of those who are single? If women attend CR groups before having children, will they be more effective in non-sexist child rearing?

This study investigated only one socialization experience prior to consciousness-raising, yet others may be relevant. Do any socialization experiences influence a woman's tendency to join a CR group? What pre-conditions optimize the impact of the group?

Behavior was not measured in this study. How do the women behave in actual child rearing situations? Is it consonant with stated intentions? An observational study of mother-child interaction might prove fruitful.

Future research involving large samples is desirable Comparative studies of women in consciousness-raising groups and those in traditional groups such as "Fascinating Womanhood" might prove insightful as might studies of CR women and the general population. Are they really different in attitudes and behavior?

Quantifiable data would prove useful in analysis. This points to the need for the development of more precise instruments to measure attitudes to sex roles and attitudes to child rearing. A concise, sensitive instrument would measuring these concepts significantly aid research.

The information in this study is only suggestive. Further research of a more precise nature would be timely. It appears that Safilios-Rothschild's prediction that change in sex role norms will take at least two generations is supported. At the present time it seems difficult to develop a thorough non-sexist approach to child rearing. Research at this time could assess various methods of achieving non-sexist child rearing goods and indicate effective ways of assisting parents in making non-sexist child rearing operative. If CR is inconsequential for widespread social change of sexist child rearing, what methods might be effective? Research may provide a basis for policy making. As yet a minority of parents are attempting to raise their children in a non-sexist fashion. As with other types of social change (Ramey, 1972), should the number of parents opting for this style increase, it may become a general child rearing trend. In this case, research could facilitate effective social policy making which affects the family, and as well as educational and child care institutions.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello, I'm ___________ from the Division of Family Studies at the University of Alberta. I'm interested in looking at how mothers interact with their children. I'd also like to know about your feelings in a number of areas of interest to women today. All answers are completely confidential. The data used will not be identified by your name. If you wish, a copy of the summary of results can be sent to you at the completion of the study.

This interview is divided into two parts. The first is about you and your background.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC

1. Were you born in Canada?

    1. Yes
    2. No _____________ (where were you born)

2. If not born in Canada, when did you come to Canada?

3. Marital status:

    1. Married
    2. Single
    3. Divorced
    4. Separated
    5. Widowed

4. How many years have you been married?

5. Your age at your last birthday?

6. How many children do you have?

    Ages of girls __________
    Ages of boys __________

7. Are any of your children adopted?

    If yes, which ones?

8. What was the last grade you completed in school?

    1. Grade school (which grade?)
    2. Non-academic post high school training
    3. University courses
    4. University graduation
    5. Graduate work
    6. Graduate degree

9. What job are you trained for or have the most experience at?

   1. Professional with M.D., PH.D., LL.B. or D.D.S.
   2. School teacher, counselor, social worker, etc.
   3. Other professional
   4. Manager, administrator, businessman
   5. Clerical, salesman
   6. Skilled
   7. Semi-skilled
   8. Unskilled
   9. Student

10. What was your most recent job? (See above categories)

11. Did you work before you were married?

    1. Full time
    2. Part time
    3. No

12. Have you worked outside the home since being married?

    How long?

13. Have you worked since having children?

    1. Full time
    2. Part time
    3. No

14. Are you working outside the home now?

    1. Full time
    2. Part time
    3. No

15. What was the last grade your husband completed in school? (See categories #8)

16. What is your husband's job now or when last employed? (See categories #9)

17. Is your husband working outside the home now?

    1. Full time
    2. Part time
    3. No

18. What is the approximate annual income of your family before taxes?

    1. $5,000 or less
    2. $5,000-8,000
    3. $8,000-10,000
    4. $10,000-15,000
    5. $15,000-25,000
    6. $25,000 and over

19. What is your religious preference?

20. How often do you attend church?

    1. Weekly
    2. Twice a month
    3. Once a month
    4. Seldom
    5. Never

21. How religious would you say you are? i.e. do you believe in the principles and values of the church?

22. What is your husband's religious preference?

23. How often does he attend church?

24. How religious would you say he is?

B. CHILDHOOD BACKGROUND

1. How many brothers and sisters did you have?

_____ Older brothers?
_____ Older sisters?
_____ Younger brothers?
_____ Younger sisters?

2. In your childhood, where did you live most of the time?

    1. Metropolitan area (500,000 plus)
    2. Large city (100-500,000)
    3. Small city (10,000-100,000)
    4. Town (1,000-10,000)
    5. Rural non-farm community
    6. Rural farm community
    7. Farm

3. During most of your childhood did you live with both parents?

   If no, why?
   1. Death
   2. Divorce
   3. Separation
   4. Other

4. Are your parents living now? ___ Yes ____ No

5. Do your parents live in the same city as you do?

   ____ Yes ____ No ____ Other

6. Do they visit often? ____ Yes ____ No

7. What was the last grade your father completed in school?

8. What was the last grade your mother completed in school?

9. What job did your father usually work at?

10. Did your mother work before she was married?

    1. Full time
    2. Part time
    3. No

11. Did she work outside the home after being married?

    ____ Yes ____ No

12. Did she work outside the home while raising children?

    ____ Yes ____ No

    When during your childhood?

13. What type of job did your mother usually do?

14. What is your father's religious preference?

    How often does he attend church?

    How religious would you say he is?

15. What is your mother's religious preference?

    How often does she attend church?

    How religious would you say she is?

16. When you were a child what were your mother's main duties with respect to the family?

    What were your father's main duties:

17. What do you recall doing with your parents as a child?

    1. What did you help mother do in the home?
    2. What did you help father do in the home?
    3. What were the children expected to do on their own?
    4. Do you recall playing with your parents when you were young? Games, exercise
    5. What kinds of things did you do outside the home with your family?
    6. Mother alone?
    7. Father alone?

18. What as a young child did you most enjoy doing with your parents?

19. Were you independent, i.e. liked to do things on your own, when you were young?

20. Were you given very much freedom as a child to do things you wanted to do?

    Were there many rules about what you could and couldn't do?

    Were the rules strictly enforced?

21. As a child did you feel there were things that your parents would allow boys to do but wouldn't allow you to do?

    You were allowed to do but boys weren't?

22. How would you describe your family life as a child?

    How would you characterize your relationship with your parents?

    Has this relationship changed since you've been married?

    Since you've had children?

23. Do you feel that your parents' relationship to each other affected you as a child?

    How?

24. What method of discipline do you recall your parents using most?

Do you agree with this type of discipline?

Do you use the same method? Frequently?

25. Do you disagree with any (other) of your parents' child rearing methods or beliefs? Which ones?

Why do you disagree? (unfair, impractical, ineffective)

26. As a child did you ever feel there was a discrepancy between what your parents said to you and how they treated you?

Now do you feel there is a discrepancy between what your parents say they did in child rearing and what they did as you remember?

27. Do you ever find that you act the way your parents once did with respect to children?

In what ways?

28. Although we are aware that parents influence children, we are less aware of how children influence their parents. Did you feel that you influenced your parents when you were a child?

In what way?

What about now?

29. Can you identify people or things that have influenced your own philosophy of life? i.e. parents, peers, mass media

Do you feel that the values you learned from your parents are significant to the way you think and feel now?

30. Do you feel that your goals in life are similar to your parents'?

How are they similar?

How are they different? (What about when they were your age?)

31. Generally, do you feel that your parents are traditional or non-traditional?

1. Child rearing
2. Sex roles
3. Philosophy

C. MARITAL ROLES

1. There are a number of things that have to be done in the home. When you were first married who did the following things:

husband or wife always
husband or wife mostly
both equally

   1. Make breakfast on a work day
   2. Earn the family income
   3. Housekeeping
   4. Grocery shopping
   5. Laundry
   6. House repairs
   7. Cook dinner
   8. Wash dishes
   9. Keep track of money and bills
   10. Decide on vacations
   11. Decide where to live

2. Is the division of labor different now than it was when you were first married? How is it different?

   Why is it changed or unchanged? Who initiated the change? Do the children make any difference? i.e. included in decision making.

   Are you dissatisfied or satisfied with the present division of labor?

3. Have you ever felt that you would like to change roles with your husband? Have you ever changed roles, i.e. done what the other person does.

D. CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

1. What prompted you to join a consciousness-raising group?

2. When did you become a member of a consciousness-raising group?

   1. Before or after marriage
   2. Before or after having children
      (place in the family life cycle)

3. Have you belonged to more than one consciousness-raising group?

4. Describe what was done in your consciousness-raising group.

    1. Duration and frequency
    2. Topics - which of most interest
        - how were topics brought up
    3. Process - techniques
        - any expectations set
        - any attempts to make changes
        - theoretical vs. practical
        - discussions
    4. Trust and confidence

5. What did you feel was the most valuable part of the consciousness-raising experience?

6. Did you feel that other members of the consciousness-raising group were similar to you? How were they similar? How different?

    Did you feel that other members of the consciousness-raising group were similar to your other friends? To your neighbors? How? (Do you feel they share similar concerns?)

7. Is the consciousness-raising group still in progress?

    If no, have you maintained contact with other group members?

    1. Some or all
    2. Why

8. Did you ever discuss things that came up in consciousness-raising with your husband? What topics? Friends outside the group? What topics? Your parents? What topics?

9. What was your husband's attitude towards your joining a consciousness-raising group? Did it change?

    What was your friends' attitudes? Were they aware of your participation?

    What was your parent's attitude? Were they aware?

10. Did participating in a consciousness-raising group influence you, i.e. change any of your attitudes, ideas or feelings? How?

    Did it support any ideas or attitudes that you held previously?

11. During and after the consciousness-raising experience, did you notice any change in your relationship with your husband? What kind of change? (specify)
    Intentional or non-intentional?
    How did you feel about the change?
    How did your husband feel?
    Why did this change come about?

    Any change in your relationship with your child (children)?
    What kind of change?
    How did you feel about the change?
    How did your child feel about it?
    Why did the change come about?

    Did you notice any changes in your relationships with other people: parent, neighbors, friends, etc.?

12. How would you define the Women's Movement?

    What do you think the central issues are?

    How do you feel about these issues?

13. What do you feel is the traditional woman's role?
    What are its advantages and disadvantages?
    Do you think a traditional role is appropriate for some women?

This is the second part of the interview. As you recall, last time we talked about your childhood. Now I'd like to talk with you about your experiences raising children (a child) of your own.

A. ATTITUDES

1. How do you see children fitting into a marriage?

   How did you decide to have children?

2. How did your life change after the first child arrived?
   Did your relationship with your husband change?

3. What do you believe is the role of the mother, i.e. why do you think a mother is important to a child?

   What do you believe is the role of the father?

4. When children are young, do you feel it is one adult's responsibility to care for children?

   What do you feel are the parents' main responsibilities with regard to their child (children)?

5. What is your philosophy of child rearing? What values, beliefs and attitudes help guide your decisions on how to treat your child? What do you feel is important for child development?

6. Do you feel that the interaction between a husband and wife affects the children?

   How does it in your family?

7. Do you and your husband agree about the way children should be raised? Any differences?

   You and your parents agree? Any differences?

   You and friends agree? Any differences?

8. What have been the main sources you have used for information and advice about child rearing? List and rank. (parents, books, friends, etc.)

9. Do you feel that your child influences your behavior? How?
   Do you feel that your child influences your husband's behavior? How?
   Do you feel that your relationship with your child influences your relationship with your husband? Your husband's relationship with your child? Influences his relationship (the husband's) with you?
   How does this show up in your family?

10. Describe what your child is like. (attitudes)

11. Do you ever feel that X has characteristics you thought he might not have?

    How do your children relate to each other?

12. Do you find you do the same sorts of things with X1 as you did with X2 at the same age?

13. How much freedom do you feel is good for a child?

14. Do you think limits should be set on a child's behavior? Why do you think limits should be set?

B. BEHAVIOR

1. More specifically what kinds of rules do you have for X - things he is allowed to do and not allowed to do? (bed time, food, safety)

2. What happens if a rule is broken? Generally, how do you discipline X? Why do you chose this method of discipline?

3. What kind of decisions does your child make or help make at home? (toys, clothes, holiday, shopping, allowance)

   Do you limit the choices they have to select from in these areas? Why?

4. Does X have any tasks to perform at home?

   What does X help you do?

   What does X help his father do?

5. What types of things do you usually do with X?
   What do you most enjoy doing with X?
   What does your husband most enjoy doing with X?
   (games vs. chores, family projects, etc.)

6. Describe in detail everything that took place between you and your child yesterday.

7. The last time you bought a toy for your child, what did you buy?
   Why did you buy this particular toy?

8. The last time your child selected a gift for you, what did he select?
   Why do you think he selected that?

9. Here are a number of situations that can occur while your child is young. I'd like to get your reaction to them.

   a. It is 15 minutes before your usual dinner hour and X asks for some candy. You refuse. X says "I want some" and begins to hit you.
      What would you do?
      Why would you do that?
      What if your parents are visiting at the time?

   b. X is playing trucks (dolls) with friends when a girl (boy) tries to join the group. X says "Girls (boys) don't play with trucks (dolls)!"
      Would you do or say anything? What?
      Why? (immediately?)

   c. Before Christmas, X has seen a lot of TV commercials about toys. He wants an impossible number of them. How do you decide what to get him?

d. X is playing indoors alone and seems to be very quiet. When you look inside your bedroom door, you find him dressed in an old dress of yours (her-father's underwear) and putting on some lipstick (pretending to shave). You haven't been seen. Would you do or say anything? What? Do you feel it is alright for this to happen? What if this behavior persists for 3 weeks? What would happen if he started to go outdoors dressed in that outfit?

e. Through the window you see X playing outside with some friends. Suddenly he starts to yell and throw toys at them. Would you do anything? What?
   Do you feel it is alright?
   Does it make a difference if it is the first time and not the tenth?

f. X is upset because the kindergarten teacher told him he couldn't play in the housekeeping centre (with the cars).
   What would you say to X? Why?
   Would you say anything to the teacher? Why?
   What if this situation continued to occur?

g. After a good meal is placed before him, X says he is not hungry.
   What would you do?
   Why?
   What if this happened when visiting a friend?
   What if this behavior persists?

h. You are visiting a friend who has a toddler younger than X. You're busy talking when you hear a scream. You turn and see your friend's child with teeth marks on his arm. What would you do? Why?

i. You are reading a book when your preschooler rushes in. X is upset because the girls(boys) are playing dolls (cars) and won't let him (her) join in. The other children are approximately the same age.
   How would you react?
   Why would you do this?
   What if this behavior continues?

10. Do you ever feel there is a discrepancy between what you think you should do and what you actually do with your child?

    Do you realize it at the time you do something or later (in retrospect)?

11. You mentioned before that your consciousness raising group talked about child rearing. Do you think the group has influenced the way you behave with your child?

C. SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

1. Do you feel that sex role stereotyping of children is appropriate? Why?

   If no, what would you propose as an alternative to stereotyping? Is it practical?

2. Do you ever find yourself sex-typing your child? Do you ever feel you might be sex typing without being aware of it?

3. How do you avoid stereotyping? What specific strategies do you use? Do you have to stop and think before you react?

4. With respect to sex roles, do you feel you raise your child any differently than your neighbors do? If yes, in what way?

   Do you feel you were raised differently than the way you are trying to raise your children? If yes, in what way?

5. Does X go to school, nursery school, day care, etc.? If yes, with respect to sex roles, do you feel he is treated any differently there than at home?

6. Does your child feel that certain behaviors are appropriate for boys and not for girls and vice versa? In his conversation does he show some sex-typing? Does he show sex-typing in the way he acts or behaves? Can you recall the times when he stereotyped activities or objects by sex?

   If yes, where do you think he could have learned stereotyping? If no, do you think he will ever sex-type?

7. As your child gets older he will come in contact with sex role stereotypes, i.e. books, other adults. How do you think your child will react?

8. Do you feel there is anything you can do to counteract sex-typing influences in your child's life? Do you feel you can continue to influence your child as he becomes more active in life outside the home?

9. Have you ever tried to help other parents change their child rearing methods, i.e. become more aware of avoiding sex-typing? How?

   If no, do you think parents and other socializers can be helped to change if they are sex-typing?

APPENDIX II: BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

In the second part of the interview which discussed socialization practice, respondents were asked to predict their reactions to nine hypothetical child rearing situations.

SITUATION A

It is 15 minutes before your usual dinner hour and X asks for some candy. You refuse. X says "I want some" and begins to hit you.

What would you do?
Why would you do that?
What if your parents are visiting at the time?

SITUATION B

X is playing trucks (dolls) with friends when a girl (boy) tries to join the group. X says "Girls (boys) don't play with trucks (dolls)!"

Would you do or say anything? What?
Why? (immediately?)

SITUATION C

Before Christmas, X has seen a lot of TV commercials about toys. He wants an impossible number of them.

How do you decide what to get him?

SITUATION D

X is playing indoors alone and seems to be very quiet. When you look inside your bedroom door, you find him dressed in an old dress of yours (her father's underwear) and putting on some lipstick (pretending to shave). You haven't been seen.

Would you do or say anything? What?
Do you feel it is all right for this to happen?
What if this behavior persists for 3 weeks?
What would happen if he started to go outdoors dressed in that outfit?

SITUATION E

Through the window you see X playing outside with some friends. Suddenly he starts to yell and throw toys at them. Would you do anything? What?

Do you feel it is all right?
Does it make a difference if it is the first time and not the tenth?

SITUATION F

X is upset because the kindergarten teacher told him he couldn't play in the housekeeping centre (with the cars).

What would you say to X? Why?
Would you say anything to the teacher? Why?
What if this situation continued to occur?

SITUATION G

After a good meal is placed before him, X says he is not hungry.

What would you do?
Why?
What if this happened when visiting a friend?
What if this behavior persists?

SITUATION H

You are visiting a friend who has a toddler younger than X. You're busy talking when you hear a scream. You turn and see your friend's child with teeth marks on his arm. What would you do? Why?

SITUATION I

You are reading a book when your preschooler rushes in. X is upset because the girls (boys) are playing dolls (cars) and won't let him (her) join in. The other children are approximately the same age.

How would you react?
Why would you do this?
What if this behavior continues?

CASE 1: MARY HARRIS

SITUATION A

Mary would take Don's hand in order to stop the hitting and say "No, you can't have any candy. We're just about to eat." If Don persisted in saying that he was hungry then he could help himself to a piece of cheese. If he continued being aggressive, Mary would take him to his bedroom and tell him that if he wanted a tantrum, he'd have to have it by himself. She would also tell him that he could come out when he calmed down, otherwise she'd call him at supper time. Mary would select this method of discipline because sometimes it is difficult to reason with Don, particularly around supper time. If her parents were visiting, Mary would use the same method.

SITUATION B

Mary feels that her son would never exclude a girl in that manner. If he did, she would immediately ask him why girls couldn't play with trucks. She anticipates that he wouldn't be able to answer. Then she might say, "You enjoy playing with some of your sister's things and vice versa". A friend of Don's has done this in the Harris home and Mary did comment on it.

Mary noted that her daughter has excluded Don from playing with her and a friend but Mary feels it is because he can be a nuisance, not because he is a boy. If Becky complained to her mother, Mary would suggest that Don feels left out and maybe he can join the group in some way. If that fails, Mary tries to divert Don's attention.

SITUATION C

Standards that the Harrises employ in toy selection are durability, creativity, and the child's interests and abilities. They tend to be quite concerned about toy selection.

SITUATION D

This situation has occurred in the Harris home. Don put on his mother's flannelette nightgown and giggled. This was of some concern to Mary. Although she felt it was fine for him to dress up in the dress up clothes, she was uncomfortable with him putting on her clothes. When Don put on her nightgown, he giggled and came out to show Mary. She acknowledged it and tried not to show surprise. He giggled some more, and shortly after removed it. If Don wanted to go outside dressed up, Mary feels she would probably let him go. She would certainly let him go if there was a group of children dressed up. Mary thinks that Don tried on her nightgown because the fabric was soothing. If the behavior persisted she would consider it a symptom and probably discourage it while searching for the cause.

SITUATION E

Mary would stop her son by saying, "You don't throw toys." One rule in the Harris family is you can be mad but you're not allowed to throw things. Mary does not think that this behavior would persist because it is a rule that the children are well aware of.

SITUATION F

If Don was upset about not being allowed to play in the housekeeping centre Mary would try to get more information about the event from her son. If he was particularly upset she might talk with the teacher in order to understand the situation. If this situation persisted, Mary would take it up with the day care director.

SITUATION G

Mary's reaction to Don's refusal to eat would depend on his mood. If he was in a "mad sulk", she would say "This is all there is between now and breakfast. If you don't want to eat, you don't have to eat. Don't ask later for something to eat." Mary would say the same to Don if they were eating at a friend's, but she would speak quietly. Usually when the attention subsides, Don will eat. In any case, the children are never forced to eat. If Don sounded sick, his mother would be more concerned. His general state of health is often reflected in his appetite. If Don continued to refuse to eat, Mary would look for a cause. She might consult the doctor to see if it was a physical problem.

SITUATION H

Don used to bite a lot when he was younger. It was usually in response to frustration and was aggravated in a crowd. When Don was in his bitting stage, Mary developed a method of handling it. Every time Don bit he got spanked and sent to bed because Mary felt he had to learn that it was inappropriate behavior. But Mary feels that she would handle the situation differently now. She would talk to him in a serious tone of voice and look for a cause. It would upset her if it did happen today because it is atypical.

SITUATION I

If Don was playing down the block, Mary wouldn't get involved with the other children. She might try to find a doll for Don to take along, or she might suggest that he play at home to distract him. If he was continually rejected by the girls, Mary would wonder why he wanted to play with them. She might get inventive and have a tea party for dolls that Don could invite the girls to, or she might just ask him to find something else to do.

CASE 2: ALICE JONES

SITUATION A

If Ron aggressively demanded candy before dinner, Alice would firmly state "That's not the way to talk or treat your mother. You know better than that. If Mom says no candy, I mean it." She might put her hand on his to stop the hitting. Alice is not particularly upset by this behavior because it is common around dinner hour, but it is unacceptable. When her parents are visiting, Alice thinks she would behave the same way, but she's not sure.

SITUATION B

If Ron was sex-typing in this manner, Alice would probably say "Why don't girls play with trucks? They're like you. They like trucks". Alice would comment immediately because she feels that it is important to counter sex-typing. Alice mentioned that she has never heard Ron speak in this fashion.

SITUATION C

Alice prefers to buy durable, creative toys. For Christmas shopping, Alice looks through the toys Ron has and then decides what he needs.

SITUATION D

If Alice caught a glimpse of Ron dressing up in her clothes, she would probably watch for a while. "It's quite rare to have these opportunities to watch a child play acting." She sees it as a natural and innocent activity. Alice feels that Ron's expression would change when he noticed her. He might feel guilty about using someone else's possessions. If Alice was not noticed, she would eventually make herself known by commenting on how nice he looked. Ron has played with Alice's lipstick. She limits the lipsticks that he can use in play because she doesn't want him to ruin her favorite ones. Alice is not upset by his dressing up and she would let him go outside.

SITUATION E

In children's fights, if there is a possibility that someone will get hurt, then Alice intervenes. She tries to find out what is happening. Usually the group will disperse. However, if the fighting appears harmless, Alice lets the children work it out themselves.

SITUATION F

If Ron was excluded from the housekeeping centre, Alice would try to find out what the reason was. She might ask the teacher or supervisor in order to understand what was happening. If it kept occurring she would look for an explanation.

SITUATION G

If Ron refuses to eat and this does happen, Alice tries to encourage him to eat by saying that it is very good. She might raise her voice. Sometimes she may bribe him with dessert because he loves sweets. If Ron still refuses to eat, he is sent to bed, and doesn't get anything later. At dinner Alice wants to interact with her husband and doesn't like a lot of fuss. At lunch, when Peter is absent, Alice may make a game of counting mouthfuls while she feeds Ron. If Ron refuses to eat at a friend's home, Alice encourages him quietly and if that doesn't work she ignores him. She wouldn't want to create a scene. Alice doesn't feel that this behavior would persist. Eventually Ron would get hungry and eat.

SITUATION H

Alice feels that something is disturbing a child when he bites. She would try to find the problem behind this "unusual" behavior. Alice found it difficult to decide how she would react. She thinks she would probably be angry and raise her voice. "You don't do that." She would like to use reasoning.

SITUATION I

If Ron was excluded from a girls' play group, Alice wouldn't make an issue out of it. She would focus on the idea that sometimes you don't want others to join in what your're doing. She would try to take his attention away from the play group.

CASE 3: LYNN WILSON

SITUATION A

It is common for Jack or Julie to ask for candy before dinner. Lynn's reaction varies. Sometimes she will give candy and sometimes she will not. At times she points out that she doesn't like to be hit, other times she ignores it. Occasionally Lynn exaggerates the child's behavior and says that he is "beating her up". This shocks the child and the behavior stops. If her mother is visiting Lynn will take the child to another room and talk to him privately, because her mother tends to strongly criticize that type of behavior.

SITUATION B

If Jack was sex-typing dolls, Lynn would say "I don't think that's true" or "You're so funny". She would try to point out the discrepancy because Jack plays with his sisters' toys. On further consideration Lynn didn't know if she would react immediately. While she might react automatically, she may delay her reaction and wonder whose need she would be meeting be reacting. Does she have to prove that she is right?

SITUATION C

From the list of toys, Lynn will select those that are durable and practical. She prefers active toys that can be used by more than 1 child. Finally, Lynn may purchase a toy that has been requested several times.

SITUATION D

If Jack was dressing up in Lynn's clothes she wouldn't say anything. He often is the mother in the playhouse. She feels this behavior is normal. If the behavior persisted, Lynn would keep pointing out that it's fun being a girl and fun being a boy. Jack has dressed up in old clothes of hers and gone outside to play before. That doesn't bother Lynn. If the clothes are new, it does disturb her and she gets him to remove the article(s).

SITUATION E

If Jack was throwing toys at friends, Lynn would intervene. She would stand outside and ask about what was happening. She feels that the attack may be provoked. If the behavior continued, Lynn would talk with Jack to find an explanation. If the behavior still persisted over a week, Lynn would place heavy consequences on that type of behavior.

SITUATION F

If Jack was excluded from the housekeeping centre, Lynn would try to see how he perceived it. Lynn's first reaction was to think of sex-typing but the teacher may have had other reasons. If Jack perceived the restriction as unfair, Lynn would tell the teacher how he felt. If the situation continued, Lynn would tell her son that not everyone likes the things we do, so when we are with them we don't do those things. She would try to support the teacher.

SITUATION G

It isn't a big issue if Jack refuses to eat. He has to remain at the table but he isn't forced to eat. Lynn may help him eat but only if she is requested to. She may leave the food on the table and Jack can help himself later so he won't get hungry and "crabby". At a friend's place, Lynn will ignore Jack's refusal. If this behavior continues, she looks for the reason.

SITUATION H

This situation has happened before. Lynn's reaction varies. Sometimes she will say in a loud voice, "I know you like him, but you don't have to eat him". She feels that Jack knows that he is wrong. Other times, Lynn may shout and storm. Her reaction depends in part on how the other mother feels.

SITUATION I

This situation has also occurred. Lynn still doesn't know if she can handle it effectively. Generally she talks with her son but not the group. She might comment to the girls if they are playing in the Wilsons' yard. If this exclusion continues, Lynn keeps working at it with her son and perhaps with other children in the family. She may also check out the situation at the day care centre to see if the behavior is repeated in another setting.

CASE 4: PAT SMITH

SITUATION A

Pat reacts in either one of two ways to an aggressive demand for candy. She may stay calm and send Carl to his room until he decides that he feels better and can come out. Or, if she is tense, she will shout and preach. While she prefers the former method, Pat's actions depend on her mood. Pat feels that she would react in a similar manner if her parents were visiting.

SITUATION B

If Carl sex-typed, Pat would sit down with the group and explain that boys and girls can play with dolls and trucks. She wouldn't shout. She would say it in front of the group because they witnessed the sex-typing. Pat feels that it is important to comment on such situations.

SITUATION C

In selecting toys, Pat uses her own judgement based on the durability of the toys. She also considers the types of toys that the children already own because she doesn't want to duplicate.

SITUATION D

If Carl was dressed up in some of Pat's clothes, she would find it amusing. However, if he was messing up her make-up, she would note that it was nice but request that he put it away because of the expense. Pat would not be concerned if Carl went outside or if the behavior persisted.

SITUATION E

If her son is throwing toys, Pat will watch the behavior for a short time before deciding what to do. If the fight is not dangerous, Pat will not get involved. If her son is definitely the aggressor, she will discipline him. Discipline does depend on the situation. For example, if Carl is being very rough with a smaller child, he will be spanked because Pat feels very strongly about this type of behavior.

SITUATION F

If the teacher excluded Carl from the housekeeping centre, Pat would try to help him understand that the teacher may have had a good reason. She would never take his side against the teacher. If he was very upset or if the situation persisted, Pat would speak with the teacher.

SITUATION G

If Carl refuses to eat, Pat doesn't insist that he eat, but he must sit at the table. He may not be eating for a variety of reasons. But if he is hungry, he can choose to eat. His plate isn't removed. If this happens at a friend's house, Pat behaves in the same way. Pat would consult a doctor if his appetite continued to be poor.

SITUATION H

Pat would be upset by biting. "I would make it very clear that it's a dreadful thing to do." She would probably get angry and shout. She doesn't think she would spank because she sees it as a symptom of an emotional problem not a sign of naughtiness. She would try to understand the reason behind the biting. If it continued, she would consult a doctor.

SITUATION I

If Carl was excluded from a girls' play group, Pat wouldn't force the other children to let him join. She would tell her son not to worry or take it seriously. She would play down any tendency to think it was sex-typing and emphasize their being mean. She might try to find something else for him to do. If the behavior continued, Pat might talk to the group and "try to win them over".

CASE 5: DIANE MARTIN

SITUATION A

If Tom was aggressively demanding candy, Diane would say "Stop hitting me. There's no candy. It's almost dinner time". She might holler if the behavior persisted. If this failed to stop the hitting, she would send Carl to his room for hitting. The children are not allowed to hit their parents. However, Diane believes that children should be given a chance to stop misbehaving. Diane doesn't think she would behave differently if her parents were there.

SITUATION B

If Carl sex-typed trucks, Diane would counter his statement with "Yes, girls do play with trucks". However, if he was playing at home with a friend and didn't want his sister to join, Diane would respect his wanting to play with just his friends. She wouldn't force him to let his sister join.

SITUATION C

If the children want an unreasonable number of toys, they have to decide which one they want the most and that is usually purchased for the.

SITUATION D

Diane feels that it is fine for Tom to dress up and go outside. But playing with her lipstick is another matter. She would yell at him for playing with the lipstick because it's messy and he would have to go into her purse to get it. This breaks the Martins' rule of respecting others' property. Diane would become concerned if either behavior persisted.

SITUATION E

If Tom was throwing toys, Diane would observe for a while. She would like to know if his behavior is justified. If the toys might be harmful, Diane would intervene. If the toys weren't harmful, she wouldn't enter the argument because she wants her children to learn to defend themselves.

SITUATION F

If the teacher said that Tom couldn't play in the housekeeping centre, Diane would try to explain that the teacher was wrong. Boys can play in the housekeeping centre. Only if the incident occurred several times would Diane speak to the teacher.

SITUATION G

If her children refuse to eat, Diane feels their foreheads, wondering if they are sick. She would do this if she was visiting a friend. She wouldn't force the children to eat. If they weren't ill but they still refused to eat, Diane would look for another problem that might be affecting their eating habits.

SITUATION H

Biting behavior has occurred. When Carl was younger, he would be spanked and Diane would apologize to the mother of the child who was bitten. If biting happened now, Diane would be more concerned with what provoked the biting and she would talk with Carl.

SITUATION I

If girls wouldn't let Carl join their play, Diane would comment that sometimes people want to do things together and not include others. They are entitled to this. Diane would consider the statement an attempt to maintain privacy. She wouldn't think the girls were excluding him because of the doll play. In fact, the girls like him to play the daddy.